

Armenia and Georgia

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Chapter XIV

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The chapter is accompanied by footnotes on the bottom of each page, an extensive [Bibliography](#) (pp. 983-1009), and three maps: [Caucasia in the 5-8th Centuries](#), facing page 598; [Caucasia in the 8-11th Centuries](#), facing page 608; and [Caucasia in the 12-15th Centuries](#), facing page 624.

[Footnotes](#)

I. The Abolition of the Caucasian Monarchies

[593] Cis-Caucasia, where the Armenian and Georgian states flourished, is the north-easternmost region of the Mediterranean world. Protected to the north by the Caucasian range and washed to the east and west by the Caspian and Black Sea, it opens out in a semi-circle towards the south, linking up with Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Iran. In the late Roman epoch it contained four polities. The chief of these was Armenia; the others, bordering it in the north from sea to sea, were the two Georgian lands of Egrisi, on the Euxine, and of K'art'li, east and south of it, as well as Caspian Albania (Aghuank'). To the classical world, K'art'li was always Iberia (Hiberia), while Egrisi was at first known as Colchis and then as Lazica. Iberia was the nucleus of Georgia, wherein the historical continuity of the nation and its historical memory were preserved, in contrast to Egrisi whose early history is obscured by foreign domination. Of Albania, too, little is known at this early period; it stands in the same relation to Armenia as West Georgia to Iberia: for the history of either we have to rely on the occasional light shed by the historical tradition of its more articulate neighbour and by the scattered data of foreign sources (1).

Belonging to the Mediterranean world and bordering on Iran, the (cis-)Caucasian states were subjected to powerful influences from both; they became involved in the struggle of two imperial expansions, Roman and Iranian; and they owed the survival of their cultural and political individuality to the equipoise of the two rivals. The civilisation of Caucasia (Armenia and Georgia) reached back, uninterruptedly, to Hittite and Assyrian times; it has formed a part of the patterns of civilised existence that succeeded and influenced one another in the Mediterranean world: Aegean-Anatolian, Mesopotamian, Iranian, Hellenistic, Romano-Byzantine. The Caucasian social structure, as will be seen, bears a striking resemblance to that of the West: both arose from the blending of tribal conditions and more advanced, especially Romano-Hellenistic, political forms. The [594] chief art of Caucasia, architecture, is in style akin to Romanesque and contains seeds of Gothic, the relationship between them being, as Focillon puts it, that of two different experiments conducted with the same media (1). Last but not least, Caucasia became a part of Christendom, whence the similarity of its literatures—another important achievement—with those of the rest of the Christian world. But religious separation and barbarian

invasions (which afflicted Caucasia much later than the West) prevented its sharing in the subsequent cultural development of Christendom: after the middle ages, its history is largely one of arrested growth.

It was in the clash of empires that the monarchies of Armenia, Iberia and Albania fell into abeyance. Both Rome and Iran claimed the overlordship of Caucasia: the latter from the days of the Achaemenids (2); the former after its victory over Mithridates' Caucasian allies when Roman suzerainty was imposed upon Armenia, Iberia, Albania and Colchis (3). Neither power could acquiesce in the other's hegemony in Caucasia, which was of supreme strategic importance to both: it controlled the frontier between them as well as the passes protecting the civilised world from hyperborean barbarians beyond the mountains; thence the heart of Iran could be struck at, and the Roman lake reached through the Euxine.

After intermittent wars, a compromise was reached as far as the most important Caucasian state was concerned, in the treaty of Rhandaia of 63. An Iranian Arsacid was placed on the Armenian throne as a vassal of Rome. How this settlement affected the other Caucasian kingdoms can only be surmised. The establishment of an Arsacid branch on the throne of Albania, within that century, and of another on that of Iberia, in the second century, may indicate similar arrangements with regard to these countries. Colchis had meantime passed to the kings of Bosporus, clients of Rome, and then was annexed in 64 to the Roman Empire.

The settlement of Rhandaia continued in force, in theory at least, until the political and religious events of the third and fourth centuries. The Hellenised Arsacids of Iran were overthrown by the nationalist Sassanids, and the new rulers of a renovated Iran could no longer accept a settlement that, in their eyes, infringed upon their imperial rights. At the same time, the dynastic condominium of the Arsacids—Iranian, Armenian, Iberian, Albanian—which, in guaranteeing the family ascendancy of the Great King over the Caucasian [595] kings, had compensated him for the admission of Roman influence into Caucasia, came to an end. Instead, a family feud separated these kings from the usurping Sassanids. The latter, it is true, soon after, secured the throne of Iberia for a branch of the Mihranids, one of the 'seven great houses' of Iran, but the religious developments of the time frustrated this diplomatic move. These were the establishment of militant Zoroastrianism as the state creed of the Sassanid 'New Iran', and the conversion in the following century of both the Roman Empire and the Caucasian kingdoms to Christianity (1). The conversion of Caucasia was not only of a great spiritual, but also of a profound political significance. The easy mingling of cultural and religious forms that had in part made Rhandaia possible existed no more than the Arsacid condominium. The convergence of religious and dynastic reasons enhanced, on the one hand, the suzerainty exercised in fact or in theory by the Roman Empire in Caucasia and, on the other, created a chasm between it and Iran.

Thus the strife between the empires was intensified. In 363 the defeat of Julian forced his successor to cede to Sapor II the overlordship of Armenia, Iberia and Albania: Iran regained what had been lost by the treaty of Nisibis (2). Within that decade, however, Valens re-established Roman supremacy in Armenia. But he was able to recover only a half of Iberia: the country was split into two kingdoms, one, ephemeral, under Roman, the other under Iranian suzerainty. It had become obvious by the fourth century that two mutually exclusive political and religious influences could not exist within the same polity. Division appeared to be the only solution. It was tried in Iberia; then, at the end of the century, it was used as a basis for a renewed *modus vivendi* between Rome and Iran in Armenia.

The success of these imperial policies was guaranteed by internal complications resulting from the nature of Caucasian society (3). Like [596] Caucasian civilisation, the social structure of Caucasia had its beginnings in Hittite and Assyrian times: in the Urartian phase of its history. The salient feature of that society was the survival of a whole class, a caste in fact, of dynastic princes, which had evolved from the tribal aristocracy of Urartian days. They were older than kingship, which derived from them. Their principalities were self-sufficient and self-determined, being territorialised tribes and clans of old. And their rights over these states were fully sovereign, including executive, judiciary, legislative and fiscal independence, control of their own armed forces, and, from the princes' point of view at least, the right to negotiate with foreign powers. On the international scale, they received the treatment accorded to minor kings. Armenia and Iberia were therefore largely federations of princely states presided over by the king. However, the Crown had from the start sought to increase its ascendancy over each federation. In this way, to the purely political dependence of one sovereign upon another, there were added certain feudal features. What the Crown could not reduce by force, it attempted to control by

sanction; it admitted the princely rights, but tended to regard them as of its own delegation. All the Armenian dynastic princes were at the same time feudal dukes, ruling their principalities and commanding their armies in the service of the king. In Iberia, where the Crown was comparatively stronger, the ducal office was conferred on only a few of the princes. In both monarchies, many dynasts were enfeoffed of great Crown offices, often aulic in character. The lesser nobility was composed of the knights, vassals of the king and of the princes, who served in the cavalry of the realm.

The most prominent Armenian princes on the eve of the abolition of the monarchy were those invested with the hereditary control of the four marches of the kingdom, notably the margraves (*vitaxae*) of Gogarene in the north and of Arzanene in the south, as well as the Mamikonids (Mamikonian) of Tayk', Taraun, Bagravandene, and Acilisene, hereditary High Constables; the Bagratids (Bagratuni) of Syspirit, Kogovit and Tamorit, hereditary Coronants of the Kings [597] of Armenia; the Princes of Siunia; the Kamsarakans of Siracene and Arsharunik'; the R'shtuni ruling the southern shore of lake Van; and the Artsrunis connected with the margraviate of Adiabene. In the Syrian march of Armenia (once the kingdom of Sophene), which had passed by the treaty of Nisibis under dual Roman-Armenian control and been given the Roman appellation of *gentes*, there were the Princes of Ingilene and of Greater and Lesser Sophene (1).

The balance between the Crown and the dynasts was one of tension, and thus delicate; and in the history of Armenia and Iberia it was frequently upset. The ensuing struggles often became involved in the vaster conflicts of empires. While the Arsacids of Armenia and the Chosroids (Mihranids) of Iberia gravitated towards the autocratic and bureaucratic Roman state, their princely vassals, though Christians, were drawn to the aristocratic realm of the Sassanids. One of the internal Armenian crises led in 377/8 to the expulsion of King Varazdat by Manuel, Prince of the Mamikonids (2), who then assumed the power. As the chief quarrel with Iran of the princely party whom Manuel represented was religious, Sapor II's guarantee of religious freedom and political autonomy to Armenia induced the Mamikonid government to recognise, in 378/9, the suzerainty of the Great King. At that moment, the Roman Empire was paralysed by the disaster of Adrianople; but soon the weakness of Sapor's successors and the rise of the great Theodosius decided Manuel to transfer Armenia's allegiance to the Empire. Restoring the throne to two Arsacid brothers, the co-kings Arsaces III and Valarsaces, Manuel continued to rule until his death in 385/6. Thereafter, the co-operation of Crown and dynasts came to an end. Some of the princes revolted against Arsaces III and appealed to Ctesiphon for another Arsacid king. Varazdat's son Chosroes was sent at the head of an Iranian army and occupied the greater part of the kingdom, reducing Arsaces to the western [598] province of Upper Armenia. Thus it was Armenia itself which brought about its partition. And in 387 Theodosius I and Sapor III made peace on the basis of the *fait accompli*, recognising the existence of two Armenian kingdoms, one under Roman, the other under Iranian overlordship (1). Faced with the barbarian pressure elsewhere and beset with internal troubles, the Christian Empire had to cede an important part of Christendom to its chief foe of the day. The whole of Iberia had by then been abandoned to Iran, as had also been Albania.

Division in Armenia was followed by political disintegration. It sealed the secessionist trend of many frontier principalities; thus the *Gentes* came under the sole aegis of the Empire and the *Vitaxae* of Gogarene passed to Iberia. Arsaces III died c. 390, and the Emperor allowed him no successor. His kingdom (*Armenia interior*, or *magna*) was placed under the *comes Armeniae*, residing at Theodosiopolis (Erzerum), and its princely states acquired the same status of sovereign vassals of the Empire as the *Gentes* (2). Inner Armenia and the *Gentes* formed Roman Armenia. In Iranian Armenia, four times larger than the other, the Sassanids strove to strengthen their control, while the aristocracy kept quarrelling with the Crown. At the instance of the princes, Chosroes III was deposed by the Great King, replaced by his brother Vr'amshapuh, then reinstated. Finally, after the reign of Yazdgard I's son Sapor—a step toward the intended absorption of Armenia—Vr'amshapuh's son Artaxias IV was brought to the throne by the princes. But they had grown tired of any authority above their own in Armenia; and, despite the solemn warnings of the chief prelate of Armenia, St. Isaac, last male descendant of St. Gregory, the apostle of the country, they resolved upon a fatal step. They petitioned the Great King to abolish the very institution of the Armenian monarchy and to become their immediate suzerain. Vahram V, who could hardly have hoped for such a fulfillment of [599] the Armenian policy of his house, hastened to accede. In 428 he deposed Artaxias IV, deprived St. Isaac of his office (1), and showered favours upon the princes. The court of Ctesiphon was careful to respect their sovereign rights; its suzerainty was expressed in the presence of a viceroy

marzpan at the old royal capital of Dvin, in the fealty of the princes and in their military aid (for which subsidies were now given). For the rest they remained sovereign oligarchs of Armenia.

Though respecting the social and political *status quo* of their new dependency, the Sassanids attempted to spread Iranian cultural and religious influences. In this they were not successful. The conversion of Armenia had already thwarted their programme; and now the invention of the Armenian alphabet, at the turn of the fifth century, by St. Mesrop (Mashtots') ensured a more thorough Christianisation of the people and achieved Armenia's linguistic and cultural independence of its neighbours. Armenian literature was born and a school of translators arose who rendered into Armenian the Scriptures as well as Greek patristic, philosophical and historical works. Original writers made their appearance, especially in the field of history (2). To counterbalance this spiritual independence, Iran at first encouraged Syrian influence in Armenia. Iranian Christianity was largely Syrian and was already then drifting away from the rest of Christendom (as was soon manifested in the Nestorian secession); thus it looked as though a link between Armenia and Iran might be forged, and Armenian ties with the Roman Empire weakened.

The next step was more radical. the politic Vahram V was succeeded in 438/9 by the fanatical Yazdgard II, whose declared intention was to convert Caucasia to Zoroastrianism. Armenia sustained the first blow. Encouraged by the temporising of the princes, Yazdgard launched a terrible persecution of Armenian Christians. But before the year was over, a popular revolt broke out; the princes joined this and St. Vardan II, Prince of the Mamikonids, took the [600] command of what became a war of liberation. But it was doomed to failure. The Emperor Marcian was unable to aid the Christians; a group of princes, under Vasak of Siunia, viceroy of Armenia, withdrew from the struggle; and the insurgents were utterly crushed at Avarayr, on 2 June 451, when St. Vardan lost his life. An understanding was thereupon reached by the conciliatory party and the Great King; but Yazdgard was obliged to give up his religious policy in Armenia. In Albania, this policy provoked the revolt of King Vach'e' II c. 460, the result of which was the dispossession of the Albanian Arsacids c. 461. In Iberia, the Sassanids appear to have been more cautious, and the anti-Iranian revolt occurred two decades later.

After the partition of Armenia, Roman power tended to weaken in West Georgia. One of the local dynasties, rulers of the Lazian people, spread its control to the whole of Colchis; and the war measures of the imperial government in 456 succeeded merely in imposing Roman suzerainty over these Lazic kings. About 468 the Iranians dared to attack Colchis or, as it was now called, Lazica. At the same time Iberia turned towards the Empire. King Vakhtang I Gorgasal (c 440-522) (1) was a strong monarch and, while the high nobility inclined towards Iran, he ended by espousing a pro-Roman policy. In 482 he put to death his most powerful vassal, Varsk'en, *Vitaxa* of Gogarene, who had become Zoroastrian and martyred his Christian wife, St. Susan, daughter of the Mamikonid Vardan II. By this act he placed himself in open revolt against his suzerain the Great King, who had induced Varsk'en to apostatise. Vakhtang appealed to the Armenian princes for co-operation and to the Huns north of the Caucasus for aid. After some hesitation, the Armenians, led by Vardan II's nephew Vahan, joined the insurrection. Some assistance, it seems, was obtained—unofficially—from the Emperor Zeno. This insurrection had no more military success than that of 451. The Iberians were routed and the Armenians took to guerrilla warfare. Then the unexpected happened. The Great King Peroz fell in 484 fighting the Hephthalites, and his successor Valash was obliged, in view of the weakened state of his realm, to re-establish peace in Caucasia. In 485 he concluded an agreement with the Armenian princes: instead of an Iranian viceroy, the Mamikonid Vahan became a presiding prince (with the title of *marzpan*), Christianity was to be undisturbed, while Zoroastrianism was proscribed. Peace was also [601] made with Vakhtang of Iberia; and this made possible his *rapprochement* with the Empire. Vakhtang adhered to Zeno's religious policy and, in recompense, his chief bishop was raised, in 486/8, to the rank of a *Katholikos*, dependent on Antioch (1). In Albania, too, the Arsacids were temporarily restored, with Vach'agan III. The peace of Valash lasted until the following century.

When he broke the Hundred Years Peace with the Empire, the Great King Kavadh I also broke the peace of Valash in Caucasia. In Kavadh's Roman war of 502-6, Vakhtang of Iberia refused to participate; Kavadh must have resumed the Zoroastrianising policy towards Iberia after his restoration in 498/9 and thus again have turned Vakhtang against Iran. In 513/14 the Armenians unsuccessfully rose against the Great King, and lost their autonomy. The guarantee of religious freedom, thereupon conceded by Kavadh, may indicate that the revolt had been caused by his failure to observe the stipulations of 485. About that time, King Damnazes of Lazica

professed Zoroastrianism and passed to Iranian allegiance. Thus the Sassanids now controlled the whole of Caucasia, except for Iberia where they seem to have met with considerable resistance. But by 517/18 an Iranian viceroy had been installed at Tiflis, the capital, and Vakhtang, apparently, reduced to a part of his realm; and this must have caused his appeal for protection to Justin I. Meantime, Damnazes' successor Tzathus I returned to Christianity and Roman allegiance, and an imperial army was dispatched to Lazica. But the aid to Vakhtang proved insufficient, and, unable to withstand the foe, the aged king fled to West Georgia. All these events led to the Persian war which Justinian inherited from Justin in 527 and terminated in the peace of 532. The *status quo* in Caucasia was then restored, with Armenia divided as before, Iberia in Iranian hands, and Lazica under Roman control.

The Empire's attempts to consolidate its position in Caucasia led to a reduction of local autonomies and to oppression by provincial officialdom. Zeno had already infringed the sovereign rights of the princes of the *Gentes*. In 532 Justinian suppressed these principalities altogether. Their military independence had already been destroyed by 528, with the creation of the *magister militum per Armeniam*, in command of five *duces*; and in 536 the newly annexed territories were organised as the provinces of First Armenia (the former kingdom) and Fourth Armenia (the *Gentes*). Finally, so as to crush the [602] economic independence of the now 'mediatised' dynasts of Roman Armenia, the Emperor, beginning in 535, strove to quash the local law of agnatic succession. All this and the behaviour of Roman officials caused Armenia to revolt in 539 and to appeal to the Great King. A similar picture was presented by Lazica: Roman representatives bullied the king and robbed the population until Gubazes II likewise appealed to Chosroes I for aid. the peace of 532 had meantime been broken and the second Persian war begun in Syria. Chosroes heeded the two appeals; in 541 Iranian forces occupied Lazica with its great fortress of Petra; and in 543 war was carried into Armenia. When a truce was concluded in 545, Lazica was not included in its provisions.

But Iranian control implied Zoroastrianising, and soon Gubazes II and his people again turned to the Empire. From 549 to 557 war was waged on Lazic territory and was complicated by the pro-Iranian sympathies of Lazica's vassal principalities of Abkhazia and Suania, and by the murder of Gubazes by an imperial official which nearly sent the kingdom back into the Great King's arms. This was averted by the Emperor's justice and the solemn installation of the slain king's brother Tzathus II. When the Lazic war ended in 561, Iran abandoned all claims to West Georgia, though the question of Suania was left undecided.

The Fifty Years Peace of 561 lasted three years longer than the 'Limitless Peace' of 532. In 572, with the assassination of the Iranian viceroy by the Mamikonid Vardan III, another insurrection flared up in Armenia which was joined by some Iberians. The insurgents appealed to the Empire, and Justin II decided to aid them. This, together with other events, led to another Persian war, which was to last till 591. The war was not at first propitious to the Christians. By 575 Iran regained control over Armenia and, undoubtedly, Iberia. There, the defeat in 522 of Vakhtang Gorgasal had spelt victory no less for his vassals than for his Iranian overlord. The powers of his successors were curtailed and they were relegated, with an empty royal title, to their demesne of Kakhetia, on the Albanian border, while an Iranian viceroy and the princes ruled at Tiflis. But soon the latter grew impatient of even the restricted Crown; and when, in 580, King Bacurius III died leaving young sons, the Iberian princes, exactly like their Armenian confrères, transferred their allegiance to the Great King. With this, the Iberian Crown went into abeyance (1). [603] Of the Lazic kings, nothing is known after Tzathus II; probably the extinction of the dynasty led to the passing of the kingdom under direct Roman control. Thus by the end of the sixth century all the Christian Caucasian states had become kingless.

II. Epoch of the Principates

[603] The Persian war inherited from Justin II by his successors entered a new phase in 582 with the counter-offensive of Maurice. Meanwhile, Hormizd IV's burdensome fiscal measures and, it seems, oppressive religious policy made the Iberian high nobility less pro-Iranian and, without a Romanophile Crown to oppose, more pro-Roman. Maurice's victories and the Turkish attack on Iran released Iberia from Sassanid control; in 588 the Iberian princes passed to imperial allegiance and requested the Emperor to give them a Chrosroid as king. The former royal house was then composed of two branches: the elder, royal, branch having Kakhethia as its appanage, and the younger, the Guaramid, branch, ruling the south-western provinces of Cholarzene (Klarjet'i) ad Javakhet'i. The Emperor's choice fell on Guaram of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i, who appears to have led the revolt of 572 in Iberia (1). But instead of becoming a king, Guaram, who received the high dignity of Curopalate, was appointed to be a presiding prince of Iberia, combining the functions of High Constable with those of imperial viceroy. Thus the system of the principate, already adumbrated in Armenia in 485, was introduced into Caucasia. In the peace of 591 (2), which terminated the war, Chosroes II, son of Hormizd, recognized the *fait accompli* in Iberia, but retained the eastern part of the country.

In Armenia the peace of 591 pushed the Roman frontier roughly to the line between lakes Van and Sevan, with Dvin in the reduced Iranian part. But the Roman victory was not to the advantage of the Armenians who now had to endure all the rigours of centralisation and officialdom, foreign to their dynastic-feudal ideas. Like Justinian, Maurice resorted to mass deportation of Armenians to Europe. Iranian suzerainty appeared light in comparison, and the court of Ctesiphon was not slow in assuming the role of protector of the Armenian princes. These, however, dreamt of independence; there were revolts against both the Emperor and the Great King, which the two joined forces to quell. In this turmoil, the heroic Mamikonids lost their ascendancy over the other princes, while the star of the [604] cautious Bagratids began to rise: at the end of the sixth century, Smbat IV Bagratuni *persona gratissima* at the courts of Ctesiphon and of Constantinople, was the most important dynast in Armenia.

During this period the solidarity of Caucasia was rent by the religious rupture between Armenia and Iberia. Zeno's *Henoticon*, which attempted to bridge the gap between Catholicism and Monophysitism, had been accepted by both countries, and also by Albania, at the Council of Dvin of 506. Fear of Nestorianism and of Syro-Iranian influence, once forced upon them by the Sassanids, made the Armenians, especially of the Iranian zone, together with the Monophysites, imagine that they saw a Nestorian tinge in Chalcedon. Added fear of absorption by the Empire, coupled with strong Monophysite influence, finally determined the Armenian reaction

to Justin I's reunion with Rome in 519 and the Empire's return to the faith of Chalcedon. The Armenian bishops, at another Council of Dvin, in 555 officially adopted Monophysitism. With this, the national Armenian Church was born. In Roman Armenia, however, though Justin II's attempt at reunion in 572 had failed, Catholicism was maintained for a while by Maurice. Between 591 and 610/11 there were two Armenian *Katholikoi*: the Catholic in the Roman zone and the Monophysite in the Iranian. Lazica and Iberia followed the Emperor's religion; and Albania was long to waver between Catholic and national Armenian Christianity. It is against this background, complicated by the Armenian Church's desire to assert its ascendancy over the Iberian, that Cyrion I, *Katholikos* of Iberia, and the Monophysite Armenian *Katholikos* Abraham clashed in 607. At still another Council of Dvin in 608/9, the latter excommunicated Cyrion and the Iberians, and the seeds of discord were sown between the two nations (1).

The overthrow of Maurice by Phocas gave rise to another, and final, Persian war, of 604-29. The initial success was Chosroes II's, who between 607 and 612 united the whole of Armenia under his aegis; in the late 590's Stephen I of Iberia, Guaram's son, had already accepted Iranian overlordship (2). But the accession of Heraclius and the [605] opening of his counter-offensive in 622 turned the tide. The following year saw the Byzantines return to Armenia and Albania. When Heraclius came to Iberia in 626, Stephen I refused to abandon the Iranian alliance; but he was killed during the siege of Tiflis in 627, and the Emperor, departing for Iran, conferred the principate upon Adarnase of Kakhetia, son of the last king. With the aid of the Emperor's Khazar allies, Adarnase finally took Tiflis. Another Iberian ally of Iran, Vahram-Arshusha V of Gogarene, was captured in December 627, when the Iranians were defeated by Heraclius. Chosroes was overthrown and in June 629 his successor accepted the Byzantine terms of peace. In Armenia, accordingly, the frontier of 591 was re-established. Each moiety was placed under a local prince: Varaz-Tirots' II Bagratuni as viceroy for the Great King and Mezezius Gnuni as commander-in-chief for the Emperor. In 635 the latter was overthrown by David Sahar'uni upon whom, in view of the princely support he had received, the Emperor had to confer the principate of Armenia and the dignity of Curopalate: the Iberian pattern was followed in Armenia. In Albania, too, the principate was introduced, during Heraclius' campaigns, in favour of Varaz-Gregory, the Mihranid Prince of Gardman. As trans-Cyran Albania was occupied about this time by the Khazars, the new arrangement chiefly concerned the cis-Cyran regions. The appearance, in that century, of two successive 'Patricians of Lazica' may indicate the setting up of a similar institution in West Georgia. Nearly the whole of Caucasia was now controlled by the Empire; and in 632/3 Heraclius secured Armenian adherence to Chalcedon.

The destruction of Sassanid power paved the way for a new foe. Within two decades, Roman overlordship in Caucasia was replaced by that of the Caliphate. The Saracens began raiding Armenia in 640-6. In spite of Constans II's attempts to regain Armenia in 647, the princes, aware of the uncertainty of the Byzantine position, of Byzantine bureaucratic high-handedness, and of their own religious separateness, turned, under the leadership of Theodore R'shtuni, to the invaders. A peace concluded by Theodore and the future Caliph Mu'awiya I in 653/4 recognised Armenia as an autonomous tributary state. At the same time, Stephen II of Iberia accepted Saracen suzerainty, Tiflis becoming an Arab enclave, and so also Juansher of Albania. The three Caucasian states now formed one viceroyalty of the Caliphate (designated as *Arminiya*), Dvin being the seat of the viceroys. The following two centuries were marked, especially for Armenia, by a fierce tug-of-war between Byzantine interference and Saracen reprisal, with the presiding princes wavering between the two allegiances and national consolidation thwarted by ceaseless strife.

[606] All imperial attempts to regain Caucasia proved abortive. In 654 Constans II launched his second offensive. Supported by the Mamikonids and the Bagratids, he overran a great part of Armenia, while the Princes of Iberia, Albania and Siunia sided with Theodore R'shtuni. The Emperor proceeded, somewhat forcibly, to re-establish religious unity; and appointed Mushegh Mamikonian his viceroy, who as soon as Constans departed, went over to the Arabs. Yet the latter were not compliant overlords. R'shtuni was deposed and replaced by his son-in-law, the Mamikonid Hamazasp II, who lost no time in bringing the country into Byzantine obedience and was made a Curopalate in recompense. His brother Gregory, to whom the Caliph, having again subdued Armenia, next gave the principate, revolted against his suzerain in 681/2, joined by Adarnase II of Iberia; and, in 684, together with him, perished in the Khazar raid on Caucasia.

The Caliph then transferred his favour from the Mamikonids to the Bagratids in Armenia and, in Iberia, from the Chosroids to the Guaramids. The principate of the Bagratid Ashot II coincided with another Byzantine offensive, undertaken by Justinian II. At first successful, the Emperor restored Byzantine suzerainty over the three Caucasian states (685). In Armenia, the Curopalate Nerseh Kamsarakan replaced Ashot II, and religious union with the Empire was momentarily re-established. This was ephemeral. The three countries had reverted to the Caliphate by 693; and in 696/7, even Lazica, under the Patrician Sergius, passed from Byzantine to Saracen control. The Arab successes and the devastation wrought in Caucasia in 693 by the Emperor's Khazar allies caused Smbat VI Bagratuni, whom Justinian had named to the principate of Armenia, to go over to the enemy and wage something of a family feud with the Emperor Tiberius III (II).

The independent spirit of the dynasts twice inspired the Saracens to attempt to suppress them. The first effort by the viceroy 'Abd Allah ibn-Hatim, it is true, was limited to arrests and confiscations (c. 695); and the good offices of the Armenian Church brought about an improvement of Armeno-Arab relations. So good, in fact, had these relations become that, when, in 702/704, Albania attempted to espouse Catholic, instead of Armenian, Christianity, the *Kattholikos*, who regarded it as a dependency, did not hesitate to invoke the Caliph's aid in forcibly restoring that country to Armenian obedience. Meantime, outraged by 'Abd Allah's actions, Smbat VI passed back to the Empire, was made a Curopalate, and warred successfully on the Arabs, though in the end he could maintain himself only on the north-western confines of Armenia.

[607] In 705, upon his defeat by the joint forces of Smbat VI and the Emperor, the viceroy Muhammad ibn-Marwan decided to carry out the idea, reborn under the new Caliph, al-Walid, of exterminating the Armenian high nobility. Several hundred Armenian lords with their families and retainers were inveigled into Nakhchevan and there were locked up in churches and burnt, or crucified after torture. This terrible holocaust sent many princes fleeing the country, and Smbat VI removed to Lazica, which had meantime reverted to the Empire. Armenia lay at the Caliph's mercy; yet he changed his policy. The constant menace of the Khazars, allies of Byzantium, made Armenia more desirable as a buffer state than as a province. The exiled princes were invited to return, their property and privileges guaranteed. It was then that the fickle Smbat VI, having quarrelled with the Byzantines, pillaged the city of Phasis, where he was residing, and returned to Saracen Armenia (711). At this time too, apparently, the Prince of Abkhazia became the Caliph's vassal.

The Khazar invasion of Caucasia in the 730's seems to have aided the Empire in recovering Abkhazia and retaining Lazica, but it also helped to bring about a collaboration of the rest of Caucasia with the Caliphate. In the principate of Smbat VI's cousin Ashot III, Armenians took part in Marwan ibn-Muhammad's war on the Khazars, in the course of which West Georgia was attacked and trans-Cyran Albania wrested from the Khazars by the Arabs (736-7). Ashot was supported by the Caliph against insubordination at home; he in turn strove to aid the Umayyads against the Abbasids.

The civil war of 744-50 in the Caliphate coincided with a new Byzantine offensive of Constantine V. The anti-Arab elements in Caucasia stirred; and in 748 Ashot III was deposed and blinded by the Mamikonid princes, Gregory and David, the political differences between the two houses having become a family feud. Gregory seized the principate and turned to the Empire; after his death, the third brother Mushegh continued to head the anti-Arab lords. At that time the Guaramids of Iberia were replaced in the principate by a new dynasty, represented by Adarnase III, whose title of Curopalate indicated a return to imperial allegiance. But the Empire proved once again to be a broken reed; its thrust into north-western Armenia failed; and the Abbasids, once in power, held Caucasia as firmly as the Umayyads. Though disliking the Bagratids for Ashot III's Umayyad loyalty, they disliked the Byzantinophile Mamikonids more. So Isaac III Bagratuni, Ashot's cousin, was named ruling High Constable of Armenia c. 755. By this time the Bagratids, no less than the Mamikonids, had been weakened; and a new power was rising in Armenia, the Artsrunids, who, having spread their rule to the [608] south-eastern province of Vaspurakan (including Bagratid Kogovit and Tamorit), were building up a strongly fortified princely state.

Abbasid rule proved heavier than Umayyad, especially fiscally. Caucasia was annually drained of ten million dirhams in taxes. The oppression of a series of viceroys made matters worse. New revolts flared up in Armenia. In 771 Artavazd Mamikonian led a popular uprising, but was defeated by the loyalist Smbat VII Bagratuni, Ashot III's son and Isaac III's successor as High Constable. Then another Mamikonid, Mushegh, returned to the

scene as leader of another insurrection. Soon other princes joined it, Samuel, head of the Mamikonid dynasty, and his son-in-law, Smbat VII himself, among them. The Artsrunis, however, tended to keep aloof. Like all other revolts, that of 771-2 was doomed. Constantine V did not heed the appeals of the princes, while al-Mansur poured troops into Armenia. In two great battles, of Archesh on 15 April 772, and of Bagravandene on 25 April, the insurgents were utterly crushed. The flower of the nobility, including Smbat, Samuel and Mushegh, fell in this war. For a time the principate was left vacant.

The immediate repercussion of this defeat was also felt in Iberia. Adarnase III's son Nerse (1) was carried off to Baghdad and Saracen suzerainty was reasserted. But, with the accession of al-Mahdi to the Caliphate (775), Nerse was allowed to return to Iberia. Armenia, too, was soon given a presiding prince. Tachat Andzevats'i, one of the lesser princes, having been *strategus* of the Bucellarians in imperial service and then fallen into disgrace under Irene, fled to the Arabs. Seizing this opportunity of counterbalancing both the Bagratids and the Artsrunis, the Caliph appointed him to be High Constable in 780. But he fell in a joint Armeno-Arab campaign against the Khazars c. 785.

Armenia groaned under Abbasid oppression; but it was chiefly the Georgians, backed by the Khazars, who now offered resistance. The centres of discontent were Iberia proper and the Chosroid principedom of Kakhetia. In reprisal, the viceroy Khuzaima ibn-Khazim resorted to the same policy of extermination as had been seen in Armenia in 705. In 786 he caused the decapitation of many Caucasian dynasts, including Stephen III of Iberia, Nerse's nephew, and the Chosroid St. Arch'il of Kakhetia. The Guaramids became extinct and the Chosroids neared extinction. After this, the Caliph appointed no presiding princes in either Armenia or Iberia; and these countries were administered directly by his representatives.

[609] Caucasia was devastated, its aristocracy reduced and decimated by wars and repression. Nobles and peasants began removing in large numbers to the Empire. And yet these disasters contained the seeds of future recovery. The Saracen insistence on collecting taxes and tribute in money, not in kind, led to an economic revival. The nobility and peasantry found themselves obliged to abandon their autarkic rural economy and to produce a surplus of raw and manufactured products for sale. Thus commerce and urban economy, stifled during the upheavals of the Sassanid and Saracen domination, recovered; the middle class revived; new cities, like Ani, Kars, Baghesh (Bitlis), Artanuji, rose beside the old, such as Artaxata, Dvin, Theodosiopolis, Tiflis, Partav (Bardha'a). Caucasia once again became the nexus of trade-routes connecting Europe and Asia, and the prosperity of the medieval period was founded.

Then, too, the ruin and extinction of many dynastic houses profited the few that remained intact. Instead of numerous principalities, a few larger ones arose, composed of a number of former princedoms; and a few great princes, suzerains of their once co-equal and now weakened confrères, held sway in Caucasia. The Bagratids at first (after 772) lost all their domains, save Syspitis, whither Smbat VII's son Ashot IV fled after the disaster. But the silver mines he possessed there enabled him to purchase from the tottering Kamsarakans the principalities of Arsharunik' and Siracene. He wrested some Mamikonid territory from the Arab amir Jahhaf the 'Qaysid' and, directly from the Mamikonids, Taraun and southern Tayk'. Other successes awaited his dynasty. His cousin Adarnase, son of Smbat VII's younger brother Vasak, removed to Iberia after 772. There he acquired the lands of Erushet'i and Artani (Ardahan), and, at the turn of the century, inherited the state of the Guaramids, comprising Cholarzene, Javakhet'i, and northern Tayk', or Tao, taken earlier from the Mamikonids. With the extermination of many Iberian princes in 786, this younger Bagratid branch became the leading house of Iberia.

Finally, the growth of local separatism in the Caliph's empire further contributed to Bagratid hegemony in Caucasia. The Arab Qaysids were entrenched in the fortress-town of Manazkert (Manzikert), north of Van, and defied the Caliph. In 792-3 there was a Muslim revolt in south-eastern Albania. In 809 the amir of Tiflis, Isma'il ibn-Shu'aib, proclaimed his independence. In 813-37 eastern Armenia was involved in the revolt of Babak. In the 820's the Qaysids of Manazkert attacked Dvin, the seat of the viceroys having been transferred to Bardha'a. Another amirate was established, about this time, at Arzen. The Caliph's government was compelled [610] to seek the support of a Caucasian dynasty. Distrustful of the growing Artsrunis and anxious to forestall an *entente* of the Empire and the Bagratids, whose state lay on the Byzantine frontier, it chose the latter. The Bagratids had the added advantage of being at once in Armenia and in Iberia. Accordingly, in 806 the principate was revived in the former country for Ashot IV the Brave and in 813 in the latter for Adarnase's son Ashot I the Great.

Thenceforth the two principates became a Bagratid monopoly. In 813, too, the Emperor Leo V, himself an Armenian, possibly a Gyunid prince (1), conferred the title of Curopalate upon Ashot of Iberia. The latter was happy to counterbalance Baghdad by Constantinople, while Leo V was eager to restore imperial influence in Caucasia. By then the Empire had lost its Lazic dependency: in the 790's, Leo II of Abkhazia subdued all of West Georgia, founding the kingdom of Abasgia virtually independent of Constantinople (2).

Kakhetia had in the meantime, after the extinction of the Chosroids, seceded from Iberia under its own presiding princes. Southeast of it, cis-Cyran Albania (Arran) was inherited in 821/2 from the House of Gardman by Atrnerseh, of Siunid lineage. So now Caucasia was divided into the following large states: the kingdom of Abasgia; Armenia with the Bagratid principalities of Bagaran (Arsharunik'-Siracene) and Taraun, Artsrunid Vaspurakan, Siunia, and the Muslim amirates; Iberia with the Bagratid principalities of Tao, Cholarzene, and Javakhet'i, the amirate of Tiflis, and Kakhetia; and Albania with lesser princedoms dependent on it (3).

In the ninth century some of the larger states also weakened owing to a new development in the dynastic law. The system of patrilineal seniority had become modified through the granting of appanages and the occasional partition of states among brothers. When Ashot IV [611] died in 826 Taraun passed to his eldest son Bagarat II, and Bagaran to another, Smbat VIII. The sons of Ashot of Iberia likewise divided his state: Adarnase II took Tao and Cholarzene, Bagrat I had the principate, with the dignity of Curopalate which had become attached to it, and Guaram Javakhet'i. Siunia and Vaspurakan became similarly divided.

Seeing in division the only guarantee of its hold on Caucasia, in 826 the Caliphate appointed Smbat VIII to be his father's successor as High Constable, while the title of 'Prince of Princes of Armenia' was given to Bagarat II, but not until 830. A quarrel between the brothers inevitably followed. Nevertheless, the Bagratids now enjoyed indisputable hegemony in Armenia and Iberia, and converting this into kingship was merely a matter of time. Meantime, Caucasia was to sustain another Byzantine offensive and another Saracen oppression.

As part of his Arab war, in 837 the Emperor Theophilus led two campaigns in Armenia: in the north-west and in the south-west. Faced with Byzantine devastations, the Princes of Taraun and of Vaspurakan sided with the Saracens, even participating, after the Emperor's defeat, in the Arab reprisal of 838. Theophilus' only success was to install an Armenian Bagratid in Syspirtis as a vassal of the Empire.

The Saracen oppression was far worse. The last energetic Abbasid, al-Mutawakkil, resolved to suppress the growing Christian and Muslim independencies of Caucasia. Three punitive expeditions were sent thither, of which the last, led by Bugha, was marked by a particular ferocity. By 855 Taraun had been reduced to ruins, Vaspurakan, Siunia, Albania, Tiflis subdued, the heads of all the princely states taken prisoner to Samarra, including Smbat VIII, who had loyally co-operated with the Caliph's Turkish general. It was then that he earned his appellation of Confessor by rejecting liberation at the price of a feigned apostasy and dying in captivity between 862 and 867. Only Bagrat of Iberia, who, too, was loyal to the Caliph, remained on his throne, happy to see Bugha's reduction of the amirate of Tiflis. Once again Armenia was at the Caliph's mercy, and once again he changed his policy. The Paulician and the Arab war of Michael III in 856-9 and the growing impotence of the Caliphate itself after al-Mutawakkil's death in 861 made it imperative to cultivate the Caucasian princes. So most of the captives were allowed to return. In 856 Smbat VIII's son, Ashot V, had already been made High Constable; in 862 he was recognised as Prince of Princes: even the *divide et impera* policy was abandoned by the Caliphate, whose tutelage over Caucasia was visibly coming to an end.

III. Bagratid Restoration and the Predominance of Armenia

[612] Caucasia's historical existence hinged on its consolidation and on the equipoise between its imperial neighbors. In the second half of the ninth century, the Caliphate could no longer control it, and the Empire, faced with the Bulgar and the Saracen, seemed uninterested in dominating it. So, when the ascendancy of the Bagratids in Armenia was crowned by the predominance among them of one man—Ashot V the Great—its independence became a matter of mere formality. True enough, his endeavour to ensure the equipoise of empires by securing the support of Constantinople was hampered by the refusal of the Armenian Church to respond to Photius' advances (862) (1). But he achieved Armenia's consolidation, thanks both to his personality and to his policy. Dynastic alliances spread his influence to Vaspurakan, Siunia, and Iberia; his scrupulous loyalty towards the Caliph sanctioned his control over all the Caucasian rulers, Christian and Muslim; the national Church lent him its wholehearted support. Even the princely feuds, weakening others, enhanced his power. During his Saracen campaigns in the 870's the Emperor Basil I imposed Byzantine suzerainty on Taraun and, to oppose the Caliph's vassal, appointed another Ashot, Bagarat II of Taraun's son, to be Curopalate of Armenia; but the latter was at once captured by the Prince of Vaspurakan; Taraun passed to another brother, while Ashot the Great remained a satisfied observer. The Empire was clearly adopting the policy of division just abandoned by the Caliphate. Ashot, meantime, was enlarging his state: he acquired, somewhat violently, the Mamikonid principality of Bagravandene and inherited some border territory from Guaram of Javakhet'i.

It was historical justice that the Armenian princes, whose ancestors had demanded the abolition of the monarchy in 428, should in 885 have requested the Caliph to recognise Ashot as their king. Sanctioning what was beyond his control, al-Mu'tamid sent a crown and royal vestments to Ashot, who was solemnly crowned at his capital of Bagaran by the *Katholikos* George II. Basil I also hastened to send a crown to the new king and to conclude a treaty of friendship with him. Armenia was again independent, though still bound to pay tribute to the Caliph; this, however, was now complied with only [613] occasionally and under duress. The Crown, replacing both the Caliph's viceroy and the presiding prince, was the guarantee of national autonomy and a symbol of unity; in assuming it, Bagratid suzerainty over the other dynasts was consecrated.

Ashot the Great inherited from the viceroys of old the claim to control Iberia and Albania. In Iberia the Empire and Abasgia were anxious to counter-balance that hegemony. In 881 the pro-Armenian Curopalate David I, son of Bagrat I, was murdered by his cousin, and a civil war followed. The murderer was supported by the Byzantines and the Abasgians, while David's son Adarnase IV was aided by the King of Armenia and the Liparitids, a Mamikonid branch established in Lower Iberia. True to the policy of division, the Emperor

confirmed as Curopalate, not Adarnase, but his cousin Gurgen I of Tao. Adarnase, however, was victorious in 888. Not being a Curopalate and having Armenia's example before him, he assumed the title of king. Thus, within three years, the Bagratids restored the two major monarchies of Caucasia. (It was, however, only in 899 that Armenia recognised Adarnase's royal status.) As in Armenia, the Emperor adapted himself to the circumstances and, upon Gurgen of Tao's death in 891, recognised Adarnase IV as Curopalate.

The complexity of the Caucasian political system was increased by the fact that, parallel to the Armenian monarchy and its dependencies, there existed the supra-national, dynastic condominium of the Bagratids. The King of Armenia was its doyen and the King of Iberia second after him; then came the other Bagratid branches: Taraun, and later Kars and Lor'i, in Armenia, and Tao and Cholarzene-Artanuji in Iberia. Neither system was however to survive. The delicate fabric of Bagratid rule in Armenia was menaced from the outset by feudal insubordination and foreign pressure; and the condominium collapsed through a lack of family solidarity.

The Caliphate might grow weak, but not its Muslim vassals. The half-rebellious Sajids were building a powerful state in Azerbaijan, which Armenia found to be an implacable foe. Despite some successes against the amirs of Dvin and Manazkert, the reign of Ashot's son, Smbat I the Martyr (890-914), was made tragic by the recalcitrance of his uncle, the High Constable Abas, of Siunia and of Vaspurakan. He was also especially harassed by the repeated invasions of the Sajid amirs Afshin and Yusuf, with whom the Artsrunis treacherously threw in their lot. In 908 the Artsrunid Khach'ik-Gagik of Vaspurakan was proclaimed king by Yusuf; and Armenia became divided into two monarchies. At the same time Smbat I's relations with the King of Abasgia, aimed at extending Armenian influence to West Georgia, brought about a break with Abasgia's enemy, Adarnase IV [614] of Iberia. Thus weakened, Smbat was unable to withstand Yusuf. He was finally captured and barbarously executed by the Sajid in 914.

The death of Smbat the Martyr brought about a change. Adarnase of Iberia and Khach'ik-Gagik of Vaspurakan hastened to make peace with his son Ashot II. Yusuf had fallen temporarily into the Caliph's hands, and Ashot II, who came to be surnamed the Iron, organised guerrilla warfare and cleared much of Armenian territory of the invaders. But it was obvious that, unaided, the Bagratids were no match for the ferocious Sajids. At that moment, the Empire appeared as an ally. Armenia, and Caucasia in general, was indispensable to it in the impending struggle with the Muslims on its eastern frontier. In the years 918-20 negotiations went on between the two courts, carried on by the Patriarch Nicholas I and one of Ashot's close collaborators, the *Katholikos* John VI, with a view to organising an alliance of all the Caucasian princes against the Saracens. The journey of Ashot II to Constantinople in 921 and the conclusion of a Byzantine-Armenian alliance was the culmination of the efforts (1). After a splendid reception, Ashot returned to Armenia accompanied by an imperial army. In reprisal for this alliance, Yusuf, back in Azerbaijan, set up the king's first cousin, Ashot of Bagaran and Koghb, as an anti-king; and a civil war began. Only at the price of a humiliating peace with his father's murderer was Ashot II able to stop the war. Triumphant in the end over this and other instances of insubordination, he directed his efforts to increasing the power and prestige of the Crown. The royal domain was enlarged with the annexation of northern border lands (Samshvilde, Gardman, Otene); and to assert his suzerainty over the other Caucasian kings he assumed, c. 922, the title of King of Kings.

The Iberian Bagratids also had their difficulties. In 904 Constantine III of Abasgia, competing with Adarnase IV for hegemony in Georgia, seized from him the Iberian throne: this, in part, prevented the latter from aiding Smbat the Martyr. Until the end of the Abasgian domination in 975 the lawful Iberian kings were relegated to their portion of the 'Hereditary Lands' in south-western Iberia. In 941 the line of Tao became extinct, with Gurgen II, and his state passed to Adarnase's sons. The ex-royal line was then subdivided into two branches: the elder, of the Curopalates of Iberia, in Upper Tao and the other domains; the younger, of the titular kings, in Lower Tao.

Armenia reached the apogee of power, prosperity and cultural achievement under Ashot II's successors: his brother Abas I (928-52), who set up his capital at Kars; the latter's son Ashot III the Merciful (952-77), who transferred the capital to Ani; and his sons, Smbat II [615] the Conqueror (977-89) and Gagik I (989-1020). The King of Kings commanded an army of 80,000 (twice the number that Ashot the Great had been able to muster). The carefully cultivated and irrigated soil of Caucasia was fertile. Its industries and commerce flourished through their association with two great economic systems: the Saracen (trans-Caspian) and the Byzantine

(Black Sea region). Bardha'a was the great centre of the former; Artanuji, the connecting link between the two. Caucasia exported to the Empire *via* Trebizond, and to the Caliphate, *via* Van-Bitlis-Mosul and Dvin-Nakhchevan-Tabriz; it offered a great variety of products: its celebrated fabrics and textiles, metal work, armour, jewellery, horses and cattle, salt, cereals, wine, honey, timber, leather and furs.

The Bagratid period brought a renaissance of the chief art of Armenia and Georgia—architecture. It was distinguished by originality and genius, and, according to some, its influence on Byzantium and the West has been decisive. There is but one Caucasian architecture, though the Armenian aspect of it is distinct from the Georgian. Whatever the constructions of antiquity, this art came into its own in the Christian period; and the largest number of extant monuments are churches. Perhaps the two salient features of these stone constructions are the existence of two different and intricately connected plans, internal and external, and the related tendency to subordinate structural and functional considerations to decorative (plastic and geometrical) effect. A good example of this is the conically or pyramidally roofed dome. Besides differences in ornamentation, the more extravagant ('baroque') treatment of the correlation of the two plans distinguishes the Georgian style from the Armenian. The first period of Caucasian architecture, from the conversion to the Saracen overlordship, showed two principal types of churches: the centralised domed edifice—like St. Hripsime's at Vagharshapat (618) and the Holy Cross (Juari) near Mts'khet'a (588-650)—and the basilica (a Graeco-Syrian importation), later domed—like those of Ereruyk' and Bolnisi (fifth-sixth centuries). After an awakening inspired by the older models, the dormancy of the Abbasid epoch passed into Bagratid renaissance, when, between the tenth and the thirteenth century, the above two types were blended into a new, cruciform domed type—as in the cathedrals of Ani (988-1000) and Kutais (1003). Emulating the Mamikonids and the Guaramids of old, the Bagratids, Armenian and Georgian, the Artsrunis and the Siunis, the Pahlavids and the Zacharids, assisted by great architects, like Tiridates of Ani and Arsakidze, vied with one another in building castles and abbeys, and embellishing their cities of Ani, Kars, Kutais, Mts'khet'a, Ostan, Aght'amar, Tat'ev with palaces and shrines. [616] Armenian architects enjoyed an international reputation; thus Odo the Armenian took part in the construction of the Palatine chapel at Aix and Tiridates of Ani restored the church of Holy Wisdom at Constantinople after the earthquake of 989. Mention should also be made of Caucasian sculpture which, deriving from Hellenistic, Sassanid, and even Sumerian sources, remained ancillary to architecture, and of Caucasian painting of similar parentage, both mural and miniature, as well as enamels.

Armenia's literary tradition was, meantime, continued (1). Monasteries, like Tat'ev, Sevan, Haghpas and Sanahin, were centres of intellectual activity, containing great libraries, as was the city of Kars under its kings.

The Bagratid period coincided with the great Byzantine offensive against Islam captained by men of Caucasian origin, like the Curcucae and (perhaps) the Phocae. While the Byzantines were reducing the Muslims on Armenia's western frontier, the Bagratids and the Artsrunis performed the same task in their respective realms. Yet, in the east, the momentarily powerful state of the Daylamite Musafarids of Azerbaijan succeeded in imposing heavy tribute on various Armenian and Albanian rulers, including the kings of Armenia and of Vaspurakan. Armenia nevertheless was given the opportunity of consolidating its strength for the future; instead, however, new divisions further weakened it. In 961/2 Ashot III ceded Kars-Vanand and the title of king to his younger brother Mughegh. In 970 Smbat II of Siunia proclaimed himself king. The kingdom of Vaspurakan was split into several appanages. Disunion penetrated the Establishment: between 969 and 972, there were two rival *Katholikoi*. All the while Siunia and Albania tended to move away from Armenian political and religious obedience, towards the political sphere of Iberia and the doctrines of Chalcedon.

Their military successes in the tenth century reawakened in the Byzantine Emperors a taste for expansion over their Christian neighbours. Though the west of Armenia had been wrested from the Muslims, expansion continued. In 968 Bagratid Taron, long a dependency, was annexed to the Empire, the Byzantine family of the Taronitae becoming its ruling house. Then, in 974, in the course of his Saracen war, John Tzimiskes approached the frontiers of the Armenian monarchy. For once feudal Armenia made a show of [617] unity. All the princes hastened to rally round Ashot III, and the impressed Emperor concluded a treaty of alliance with the King of Kings (1).

In spite of all the achievement, the seeds of decay were apparent in the Armenian polity. Smbat II was faced with further division and feudal strife: the revolt of his uncle Mughegh of Kars and the formation, in 982, by his

younger brother Gurgen of the kingdom of Lor'i (Tashir), on the Iberian border, as well as with the interference of a Georgian Bagratid, the *Magister* (from 990, Curopalate) David the Great of Upper Tao. The latter's role was a symptom of the changing times: emerging at the height of Armenian history, David was the precursor, indeed the founder, of Georgia's subsequent preponderance in Caucasia. His activity, however, was not limited to Caucasia; and the Empire benefited by his intervention. Byzantium also had to face the recalcitrance of nascent feudalism among the 'powerful' of Anatolia. There the revolt of Bardas Phocas (970) was followed in 976-9 by that of his adversary Bardas Sclerus. The sympathies of the Armenian princes were with the rebel; but Phocas, placed by the imperial government at the head of their forces, was an old friend of David's. To him, accordingly, appeals for military aid were sent, along with promises of recompense (2). David dispatched 12,000 horse under the command of his fassal T'ornik Ch'orduaneli, who temporarily abandoned his cell on Mt. Athos for the role of a general. On 24 March 979 Phocas, with Georgian aid, defeated Sclerus at Pancalia. David received, *ad personam*, a vast territory in western Armenia stretching from Tao towards lake Van and including Theodosiopolis; he became thus the most powerful prince in Caucasia. It was possibly to counterpoise this Georgian enclave in Armenia that Smbat II countenanced the rise of the kingdom of Lor'i, an Armenian enclave in Iberia.

It is largely due to David of Upper Tao that Iberia began to unite, while Armenia was disintegrating. Being childless, he adopted his young cousin Bagrat, of the 'royal' branch of Lower Tao. Bagrat was the son of Gurgen and the grandson of the titular King of Iberia, Bagrat II the Simple; his mother was Gurandukht, sister of Theodosius III, king of Abasgia and (*de facto*) of Iberia. The boy was thus the potential heir of three crowns. As Theodosius III was unpopular with the nobility, John Marushidze, viceroy of Iberia, came to an understanding with David and with Smbat II in 975, and ceded Iberia to David. Since Bagrat was under age and his grandfather in his dotage, it was the boy's father Gurgen who became King of Iberia. In 978/9, again through Marushidze's efforts, Theodosius III was [618] deposed and Bagrat, now of age, proclaimed King of Abasgia. But the bright prospects of the Georgian Bagratids were soon somewhat darkened. Bagrat III of Abasgia and his adopted father quarreled in 988; a war broke out, in which the Kings of Abasgia and Iberia fought David of Tao, the dotard Bagrat II and Smbat of Armenia, and were defeated. Meantime, in 987-9, another revolt shook the Empire; Bardas Phocas was the chief rebel now, and David chose to aid him by sending him 2,000 horse. Upon Phocas' defeat, David, fearing Basil's reprisals, sought to placate the Emperor by offering to make him heir of all his lands instead of Bagrat III (900). He was forgiven and confirmed as Curopalate (1); but his action was to have important consequences. Meantime in 994 the Bagratid condominium in Caucasia came to an end with Gurgen, who on his father's death assumed the title of King of Kings which marked his independence of Armenian tutelage.

The civil wars within the Empire encouraged Armenia's Muslim foes. The Sallarids of Azerbaijan succeeded in imposing a tribute upon Smbat II, and attacked Vaspurakan; a new Muslim dynasty, the Marwanids, held Archesh and Khlat' (Khilat), Martyropolis (Mayyafariqin) and Amida, and finally acquired Manazkert. At the same time, in Byzantine Armenia, religious tension and the old policy of transplanting Armenians to other parts of the Empire caused friction. As yet another symptom of impending decay, great numbers of Armenians began to emigrate to Cilicia and northern Syria, whence the Macedonians had driven out the Saracens.

Faced with Muslim aggression, the Curopalate David, now the veritable doyen of the Bagratids, succeeded in organising a counter-offensive. In 992/4 he took Manazkert and then, with the assistance of other Bagratids, twice defeated Mamlan of Azerbaijan's retaliatory attacks on Armenia (997, 998). David's death on 31 March 1000 provided the Byzantines with another opportunity of despoiling Christian Caucasia, and Basil II hastened to collect his inheritance. David's hereditary state of Upper Tao and all his Armenian territories were annexed to the Empire. Bagrat III, David's former heir, and his father accepted the inevitable and were recompensed: Bagrat becoming a Curopalate (in this, indeed, David's successor) and Gurgen a *Magister*. For a time, however, other things occupied the attention of the Georgian Bagratids. In 1008 Bagrat III succeeded his father in Iberia, and, for the first time in history, the two Georgias, eastern and western, were united. David's policy was bearing fruit. The king of united Georgia then imposed his suzerainty upon Kakhetia; defeated, with the aid of Gagik I of Armenia, still another rising Muslim [619] dynasty, the Kurdish Shaddadids of Ganja in Albania (Arran); and wrested from his Bagratid cousins the state of Cholarzene, with Artanuji, in 1101. At his death, on 7 May 1014, Georgia was the most important Caucasian kingdom.

Armenia, on the other hand, was rapidly disintegrating. Gagik I achieved some success in his struggle with his insubordinate nephew of Lor'i, who, in carving out for himself a considerable state, had extended his control to the amirs of Tiflis and of Ganja. But Gagik's death in 1020 opened the final chapter of Armenian history. The royal domain, now only Siracene, and the royal dignity were divided between his two sons, the corpulent and phlegmatic John-Smbat III and the energetic and ambitious Ashot IV the Valiant. A drawn-out struggle between the brothers ensued, in which the Kings of Georgia and of Vaspurakan, and even the Caliph, took part. In the meantime, the Daylamites from Azerbaijan invaded Armenia in 1021 and, in Vaspurakan. All the enemies of Armenia had now entered the arena. They included the Empire, which, instead of aiding these weakened and divided Armenian buffer-states in the face of the common barbarian menace, proceeded to enlarge itself at their expense. Under Byzantine pressure, the harassed Sennacherib-John of Vaspurakan ceded in 1021 his kingdom, with its ten cities, seventy-two fortresses and some 4000 villages, to the Emperor, and, recompensed with the dignity of *Magister* and domains in Cappadocia, removed thither together with his vassals. Vaspurakan became the Byzantine province of Basparacania (1).

The kingdom of Armenia (Ani and a part of Siracene) was next. John-Smbat III repeated the error of David of Tao. Having supported George I of Georgia in his unsuccessful wars with Basil II (2), he now sought to appease the victor by proposing in 1022 to designate him as his heir (3). He, too, was given the titles of *Magister* and of *Archon* of Ani and Great Armenia, as well as, later, the hand of the Emperor Romanus III's niece. When he died, childless, in 1040, having survived Ashot IV by a year, the Emperor Michael IV claimed the inheritance. Within the reduced kingdom, high personages, like the *Katholikos* Peter and the *Vestes* Sargis Siuni, sided with the Empire; but Vahram (Kamsarakan-)Pahlavuni rallied the nobility and the troops round Ashot IV's son Gagik, who was proclaimed king. With the aid of Vahram and his learned nephew Gregory, Gagik II was able to repel both the Byzantine attack and the incursions of the King of Lor'i and of the Shaddadid amir of Dovin, whom the [620] Emperor Constantine IX did not scruple to incite against the Christian King of Armenia. Soon, however, the Pahlavids were superseded at court by the treacherous Sargis Siuni. With his and the *Katholikos*'s assistance, Gagik II was inveigled into Constantinople in 1045 and there bullied into abdication. He received the usual domains in Cappadocia and the dignity of *Magister*, and a palace in the imperial capital to boot. His kingdom was annexed and placed under the *dux* of Byzantine Iberia, that is, of the territories wrested from Georgia: the consequences of two foolish bequests thrown together. The Armenian nobility began to emigrate in great numbers to Georgia or, following the exiled kings, to the Empire, some, like the Pahlavids, exchanging their domains to imperial fiefs. If the annexation was a crime, the government of Constantine IX now committed an error that was *plus qu'un crime*. Needing money, they replaced the feudal levy-in-mass obligations by heavy taxation. Armenia was not only leaderless, but also disarmed.

The Empire did not long enjoy its spoils. Beginning in 1045/6 Armenia was subjected to repeated Seljuq attacks, and in 1064 Ani fell to Alp Arslan. In that year, the King of Kars, Gagik-Abas, ceded his state to the Empire on the usual conditions, but it was snatched by the Turks. A few sovereigns still remained in Armenia. The Kings of Lor'i and of Siunia, having accepted Seljuq suzerainty, survived until the 1090's; upon the extinction of the House of Siunia, its now reduced territories were inherited by the House of Gardma-Albania (P'ar'isos), which, in turn, became extinct in 1166, when its entire, but diminished, inheritance devolved upon the Princes of Khach'en. In the south, the Artstrunis held the principality of Moxoene and the Mamikonids reigned, at first under imperial suzerainty, in Sasun and Arsamosata until their dispossession in 1189/90 by the new Muslim power in Armenia, the Shah-Arman dynasty. Later, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Armenian house of the Zachariads (Mkhargrdzeli) ruled in northern Armenia at Ani, Lor'i, Kars, and Dvin under the Georgian aegis.

Religious and ethnic animosities between the Armenian dynasts settled in Cappadocia and the Byzantines led to excesses such as the brutal murder, on Gagik II's orders, of the Metropolitan of Caesarea and, ultimately, to Gagik's own death and those of the remaining Armenian royalties, at the hands of the Byzantines, in 1079-80. Meanwhile, Alp Arslan captured Manazkert in 1070. And it was there that he inflicted, the following year, the momentous defeat upon the Emperor Romanus IV which deprived the Empire of Armenia and opened to the Turks the road to Anatolia.

IV. Predominance of Georgia

[621] The Georgian Bagratids were more successful than their Armenian cousins in building a united national monarchy. Both, indeed, had to face feudal insubordination, division and Saracen enclaves at home; but in Georgia's case, geography rendered foreign aggression less deadly. With the decline and dismemberment of Iberia after 786, Tao and Cholarzene—the 'Hereditary' Lands of the Bagratids, soon to be free from the Caliph's control, yet still buttressed by imperial suzerainty—became the cultural and economic centre of Georgia. Thence the Bagratids embarked upon the unification of all the Georgian lands, supported by the Church, the lesser nobility and the burgesses. But they met with the resistance of the high nobility, apprehensive of a strong pan-Georgian Crown, and of the Kings of Abasgia, anxious to secure that crown for themselves. It has been seen how the political acumen of David of Tao exploited the initial Abasgian successes for the Bagratids.

Bagrat III of Georgia (Abasgia and Iberia) was followed by a line of capable rulers, successful in overcoming imperial, Seljuq and feudal hostility. Bagrat kept on good terms with the Empire, but his son George I (1014-27) quarrelled with Basil II over the Tao succession. In two devastating wars, of 1021 and 1022, George was defeated and constrained to cede to Basil important Iberian fortresses and his own son Bagrat as a hostage. Dying early, he was followed by the boy Bagrat IV, whose early years were guided by his mother Mary, daughter of Sennacherib-John of Vaspurakan. It was a troubled reign. From the start, the Empire sought, by invasion, by bribery, and by producing claimants to Cholarzene, to wreck the new power in Caucasia. Georgia was saved by the loyalty of its most powerful dynast, Liparit IV, duke of T'rialet'i and subsequently High Constable of the realm; and also by the death of Constantine VIII (1028). The new Emperor, Romans III Argyrus, was alive to the changing times: the military prowess of the Empire had passed with Basil II; it was wiser to resort to diplomacy. In 1031/2, after the *Katholikos* of Iberia, Melchisedech, and the Queen-Mother had journeyed to Constantinople, peace was concluded, and Bagrat received the dignity of Curopalate (denied to his father) and the hand of the Emperor's niece Helena (1). Yet the *entente* ended with her untimely death. In 1033 Bagrat's ambitious younger brother Demetrius fled to the Empire, ceding to it the fortress of Anakop'ia, another apple of discord between the two states.

The Georgian lands still outside Bagrat IV's realm were the [622] kingdom of Khakhetia and the amirate of Tiflis. In the former, the principate having become hereditary, Kvirike III (1010-29) proclaimed himself king. His daughter was married to David I of Lor'i and their younger son Gagik succeeded in 1029 to Kvirike's throne. The kings of Georgia tried repeatedly to reunite Kakhethia with Iberia; and they, no less than the Kakhethian rulers, made attempts to conquer Tiflis. Bagrat thrice took the city (1046, 1049, 1062), only to lose it again, for his

strength was sapped. In 1038, moreover, he rashly fell foul of Liparit, and with that the latent tension between the Crown and the dynastic nobility passed into an armed conflict. With the Emperor's backing, Liparit twice induced Prince Demetrius to try for the crown; he openly fought Bagrat; and he finally wrested from him the south-western moiety of the realm (c. 1045/7). In this struggle Constantine IX acted as mediator: the despoiler of Armenia evidently had similar designs on Georgia. Liparit was indeed the chief Caucasian ally of the Empire; he was a *Magister* and in 1048 commanded imperial armies against the Seljuqs in Armenia (captured in battle, he was soon released by Alp Arslan). In 1054 Bagrat himself went to see the Emperor, who created him a *Nobilissimus*, yet detained him for three years at Constantinople. During this time, Liparit proclaimed Bagrat's son George king and himself regent of Georgia. Finally, in 1059, the princes in Liparit's following grew tired of his sway and, seizing him, delivered him to the king. Liparit was forced into a monastery and the Crown was saved.

Next, Alp Arslan's Seljuqs invaded Georgia in 1064 and 1068, devastating the south-western provinces, reducing Kakhetia, and installing the amir of Ganja at Tiflis. Before this common menace, a *rapprochement* was effected between the Empire and the only great Christian state east of it: in 1065, Bagrat IV, a *Sebastus* now, sent his daughter Martha to be the wife of Constantine X's son and co-Emperor Michael Ducas (1). Before his death on 14 November 1072, Bagrat expelled the Shaddadid from Tiflis, but relinquished it to another Muslim ruler.

His son George II, who received the dignity of Caesar from his (second) brother-in-law, Nicephorus III (c. 1081), was the least fortunate of the kings of the period. He was confronted by the revolt led by the Liparitids and pacified them only at the price of new concessions. And, although he acquired at that time from the harassed Empire all its possessions in Georgia, he was attacked by the Turks of Malikshah and forced to accept the Sultan's suzerainty. [623] In 1089 he was reduced to the position of a co-king by his son David, and died in 1112.

In the 'Golden Age' of David III the Builder (1089-1125) (1), his son Demetrius I (1125-55), the latter's son George III (1156-84), and his daughter Tamar the Great (1184-1212), Georgia was transformed into a powerful military pan-Caucasian empire, stretching from sea to sea, commanding vassal kingdoms, and enjoying the zenith of culture and prosperity. This success was grounded in the redominance of the Crown over the dynasts weakened by further feudalisation. It was now that Georgian feudalism reached its highest development, showing all the complexity observable in the West: fiefs and sub-fiefs; *dominium directum* and *dominium utile*; allods, benefices, office-fiefs; vassalage, investiture, homage; feudal service and immunity. David III was fortunate in subduing the recalcitrance of the Liparitids or, as they were now called, Orbelis (Orbelianis); he combated the nobles' monopoly of high positions in the Church; and he made himself less dependent on the feudal levy by introducing mercenary troops, recruited from the trans-Caucasian Kipchak tribes. Nevertheless, complications in the royal house twice evoked feudal revolt. The successor of Demetrius I, who entered a monastery, was his elder son David IV, who reigned for six months in 1155. He was followed, during the minority of his son Demetrius, by his younger brother George III. In 1174-7 the young Demetrius, aided by two great houses, the Orbelians—he married an Orbelid princess—and the T'orelis, attempted to reach the throne. George III's repression was ruthless; Demetrius was mutilated and thrown into prison, and the principal Orbelid line was in part exterminated and in part forced out of Georgia. In opposing the aristocracy, George raised men of lesser or of no birth to high offices, previously a monopoly of the great families. For a time the nobles were cowed; then came another opportunity for asserting themselves. George, in default of sons, was succeeded by his daughter Tamar (2). In 1185, despite reluctance, the Queen was prevailed upon to marry the vicious and brutal George of Russia, son of the Grand Duke Andrew of Vladimir. But in 1187/9 this childless marriage was dissolved and in 1189 Tamar married her Bagratid cousin, David Soslan, a descendant of Bagrat IV's brother Demetrius. The expelled George of Russia made three attempts to seize the kingdom, and the nobility, especially of West Georgia, rose in great numbers on his behalf. Upon the whole, [624] however, the tension between the Crown and the aristocracy resolved itself into an equipoise in the reign of Tamar. She was obliged to remove upstarts by the Armenian Mkhargrdzelis (Zakarids); at the same time, the Crown had to accept limitations imposed upon it by the Council of State composed of lords temporal and spiritual—an embryonic parliament.

The strength of the Crown at home made expansion possible; it was enhanced by the break-up, after Malikshah, of the Seljuq realm and by the Seljuq struggle with the Fatimids and the crusaders. David III, in fact, launched a

'Georgian crusade' which, together with those of the Franks, place the Seljuq succession states within Christian pincers. In 1105 David annexed Kakhetia, a vassal state of the Turks. In 1110 he began clearing Georgia of Turkish raiders and 'pockets'; in the course of this, the former kingdom of Lor'i was acquired in 1118. From 1117 Georgian ascendancy was established over the Muslim kingdom of Shirvan, and c. 1119, over Alania-Ossetia. The Islamic counter-offensive, captained by the Ortukid al-Ghazi and the Seljuq Tughril of Arran, was utterly routed by David in August 1121. In 1122 Tiflis, the last Muslim enclave, was captured, and replaced Kutais in Abasgia as the seat of court and government. Finally, in 1223/4 David wrested Ani from the Seljuqs' Shaddadid vassals, as well as territories in northern Armenia and the Acampsis valley, including Syspirtis, once a Bagratid princedom. The crusade was continued by George III who led victorious campaigns against the Shah-Arman, the Shaddadids, the *Atabeg* of Azerbaijan, and other Muslim princes. Tamar, assisted by her High Constable Zacharias I Mkhargrdzeli and his brother John, in 1199 recovered Ani, which the Shaddadids had several times retaken and which, in 1201, she bestowed upon the Mkhargrdzelis; in 1203 she annexed Arran, with Shamk'or and Ganja, and Dvin in Armenia; in 1209 she captured Kars; and she carried her victories into Azerbaijan, as far as Ardabil and Tabriz. In 1204 the Queen aided her Comnenian relatives Alexius and David, grandsons of her aunt, the first wife of Andronicus I, to found the Empire of Trebizond, which at first was a tributary of Georgia—as were various amirs of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Georgia's theoretical dependence on the Eastern Empire had meantime been terminated: David III was the last sovereign to bear a Byzantine title (*Panhypsebastus*).

Possessed of great commercial and industrial centres—Tiflis, Artanuji, Dmanisi, Samshvilde, Ani, Kars, Dvin, Ganja—Georgia succeeded to Armenia's prosperity. The tribute of her client states and war booty alone brought to the Crown the yearly revenue of 75 [625] million dirhams. The wealth and luxury of the period gave rise to the saying that 'the peasants were like nobles, the nobles like princes, and the princes like kings'. The artistic aspect of Georgian civilisation has been mentioned above. In the Golden Age, letters flourished. Arising soon after the conversion, Georgian literature further developed a purely secular aspect, especially poetry, lyric and epic, and achieved a moment of splendour with Shot'a of Rust'avi (Rustaveli)'s epic *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. As in the West, chivalric ideals flourished, being inherent in a Christian feudal society; but, under suffocating influences, they became adulterated with those of courtly and troubadour love, leaving a considerable imprint on secular literature. Still, as in Armenia, intellectual life was centered chiefly in the monasteries (some of which were abroad, in the Holy Land, or on Mt. Athos). Further developing the pattern of earlier schools, abbeys like Gelat'i and Iqalt'o set up academies on the Byzantine model. Philosophy flourished in the academies of Georgia; the Aristotelian school was headed by Arsenius of Iqalt'o (d. c. 1130) and the neoplatonist by John Petritsi (d. c. 1125), a disciple of Psellus and Italus whose original works included commentaries on Proclus and Nemesius of Emesa, in addition to his numerous translations. Astronomy was cultivated at Tiflis where an observatory had been built by the Arabs. Throughout the Georgian crusade, cultural contacts with the Islamic world were maintained, no less than with the Byzantine, and the relations between the Christian and Muslim lords in Caucasia bore a distinctly chivalrous stamp.

This *grand siècle* was abruptly terminated by another barbarian invasion, that of the Mongols. Appearing in Georgia in 1220, they defeated Tamar's son George IV the Resplendent (1212-23) and his 90,000 horse; but they did not follow up the victory and, in 1222, passed beyond the Caucasus. George died in 1223, leaving the throne, during the minority of his son David, to his sister Rusudan (1223-45). While the Queen was considering the papal proposal to undertake a crusade—the break with Rome seems to have become definitive only during that century—her realm was invaded in 1225 by Jalal-ad-Din of Khwarizm, recently mauled by the Mongols. All of Iberia fell to [626] the Turkomans, and their ferocity made the next Mongol wave in 1236 appear almost as a deliverance. The feudal army of the Bagratids was no match for the war machine of the invaders, when they came; all the princes of East Georgia accepted their suzerainty, and in 1243 Rusudan, who had taken refuge in Abasgia, was obliged to do the same.

The Mongols left Georgia autonomous, but exacted tribute and military aid. The new taxation, in addition to the old feudal dues, and the participation in long and distant Mongol wars proved ruinous to the peasantry. Their only escape—flight—was combated by legislative measures. The decline of the rural economy that ensued was followed by that of the towns, as industry and commerce dwindled. Further weakening came from dynastic complications. In 1234 Rusudan co-opted David (V), her son by her Seljuq Prince-Consort (1), and put aside the lawful heir, George IV's son David. In 1250, however, the Great Khan recognised both the Seljuq David V and

the Bagratid David VI as joint kings of Georgia. But in 1258 growing regional separatism enabled the former to secede in Abasgia, thenceforth called Imeretia (Imereti). Georgia was again divided, and the reduced Crown became a plaything of the great houses, the immediate vassals of the Mongols (2).

David VI (1250-69) was succeeded in Iberia by his son Demetrius II the Devoted (1269-89), who, embroiled in the intrigues of the Il-Khan's court, gave himself up to be executed by the Mongols in order to save his people from invasion. The adoption, after him, of the Byzantine system of collegial sovereignty led to the confusion of simultaneous kings: Vakhtang II, David V's son set up by the Mongols (1289-92); Demetrius' sons David VII (1292-1301; co-king, 1291-2, 1301-10), George (VI, co-king, 1299-1314), and Vakhtang III (1301-7); and David VII's son George V the Little (1307-c. 1314) (3). [627] About 1314 George VI the Illustrious became the sole ruler. At first he kept on excellent terms with the declining Ilkhans: the Mongol tribute was decreased and Georgian control over Armenian territories recognised. Georgia enjoyed a great prestige in the world of Islam of the period (1). Then in 1327 the fall of George's friend the regent Chupan ended the Georgian-Muslim co-operation. George VI transferred his residence to Kutais and confined his activities to West Georgia, where he reduced the Seljuq kings to vassal dukes and enforced obedience on other princes. Georgia's international orientation also changed, as its relations with Trebizond and the West, especially the Papacy, were intensified. Economically, this seems to have been a moment of recovery, and commercial contacts with Iran, the Golden Horde, Anatolia, and the Italian republics flourished. George's son David VIII (1346-60) and grandson Bagrat V (1360-95) continued the policy of recovery, interrupted by the Black Death (1346-8) and the struggle over East Georgia between the Ilkhans' successors the Jalairids and the Golden Horde. But in the late 1350's Mongol control had become tenuous; the court returned to Tiflis; and, even though the pan-Caucasian empire had been lost, it enjoyed a certain ascendancy over Shirvan, Arran, and Trebizond.

Another barbarian wave ended this momentary consolidation. In 1386 Tiflis was sacked and Bagrat V and his queen Anna Comnena of Trebizond were led captive by Tamerlane. The Imeretian rulers regained independence, while the incursions of Tamerlane, his successors, and, later the Aq-Qoyunlu Turks left Georgia utterly devastated. Bagrat V's sons, George VII (1395-1405) and Constantine I (1405-12) (2), fell fighting the invaders. The latter's son Alexander I the Great (1412-42) attempted with some success to stem the decline. He re-established political unity and undertook a series of measures to restore prosperity. His son and third successor, George VIII (1446-65), felt strong enough to attempt joining the defence of Christendom against the tide of Islam. In 1451 his daughter was betrothed to Constantine XI Palaeologus; and in 1458-60 he strove, together with the Emperor of Trebizond and other princes, to realise Pius II's abortive crusade. These new efforts at consolidation were wrecked, however, and from within. It would still have been possible to prepare for the coming Islamic onslaught of the Ottomans and the [628] Safavids. But the dynasty which had made the country great now fatally weakened it. The system of collegial sovereignty reappeared among the descendants of Bagrat V's Comnenian queen, and, in conjunction with feudalism and regional separatism, enhanced by an economy now broken into local autarkies, this extraneous constitutional development brought about, in 1454-91, the partition of the realm between three lines of the royal house into three kingdoms: of Georgia proper (Iberia), Imeretia and Kakhetia. In the course of the struggles accompanying the partition, five western ducal houses, the Jaqelis of Meschia, Dadian-Gurielis of Guria, Dadianis of Mingrelia, Sharvashidzes of Abkhazia, and the Gelovanis of Suania, seceded from Georgia forming five independent principalities. Except Meschia, all these states survived until the Russian annexations of the nineteenth century.

V. Armenia in Exile (Lesser Armenia)

[628] The aftermath of the Seljuq conquest of Armenia was the deflection, unique in history, of its social and political *élite* to foreign lands, and the establishment of a New Armenia in exile: an artificial creation indeed, but less so than the Frankish states of the Levant most of which it outlived. When Cappadocia, where many of the Armenian royalties and dynasts had settled, fell to the Turks after 1074, the Armenian *émigrés* moved to the only region left unoccupied by the invaders: the south-eastern corner of Asia Minor and northern Syria. Thither immigrants from Armenia had been streaming after the tenth century, so that the new arrivals, including the *Katholikos* and his ecclesiastics, found these lands only half-foreign. Cut off from the Empire, this region was consolidated in the face of the Muslim menace by the warlike newcomers. The first organiser of this Armenia in exile was Philaretus Brachamius (Vahram), commander of Melitene and Germanicea (Mar'ash) under Romanus IV. He refused to recognise Michael VII, set up an independency in Germanicea and ruled Melitene through vassals, the most notable of whom was Gabriel. In 1077 another vassal of Philaretus took Edessa with its largely Armenian population, and in 1078 Philaretus was invited to rule in Antioch. His hegemony also extended to Cilicia, where the Artsrunis, established by the Empire at Tarsus, and the Het'umids of Lambron accepted his overlordship. Philaretus further strengthened his position by making peace with Nicephorus III and obtaining the title of Curopalate and, simultaneously, by becoming a vassal, for Antioch, of the Atabeg of Mosul. His state, however, was not to last. In 1085 Antioch fell to the Seljuqs and in 1098 [629] Philaretus' successor in Edessa, the Curopalate Theodore (T'oros), was rather cavalierly superseded by his *condottiere* and adopted son, Baldwin of Boulogne, and his Franks. The rest of this first neo-Armenian polity fell into several units, including Melitene (annexed by the Danishmends), Mar'ash and Kaysun-Ra'ban (taken by the Franks in 1104 and 1116), and, not least, Cilicia of the Rubenids. The attempt of Theodore of Edessa to found an Armeno-Frankish condominium failed; thenceforth Syria was to be only Frankish and Cilicia the land of New Armenia (1).

While other Armenian dynasts in these regions willingly enough submitted to imperial suzerainty (whenever asserted), Ruben, who established himself c. 1080 in the castle of Bardzrberd in the Cilician mountains, represented the anti-Byzantine faction once grouped round Gagik II. That he was that king's relative, as later historians claimed, seems doubtful; Rubenes, *strategus* of Larissa and Hellas in 1018/19, may have been his kinsman. The formation of Rubenid Armenia upon the foundation laid by Philaretus followed. This was aided by the same external factors as the greatness of Bagratid Georgia: the dismemberment of the Seljuq realm and its struggle with the Fatimids and the crusaders. The latter received, upon arrival, military aid, supplies, and guidance from the friendly Armenian lords of Cilicia and Syria, and the adherence of the Armenian population of great cities, like Antioch; their presence, in turn, enabled Ruben's son Constantine I (1095-9) to consolidate

his principedom and to enlarge it at the expense of the Byzantines and the Muslims. Despite the initial Armeno-Frankish frictions in Syria and occasional subsequent conflicts, the Armeno-Latin *entente*, strengthened by numerous princely marriages and much cultural interpenetration, was to continue to the end in the face of the Byzantine and Muslim danger. Anti-Byzantine sentiments also induced the Armenian Church to be rather conciliatory towards Catholicism.

The period of Constantine's sons Theodore I (1110-29) and Leo I (1129-38), the latter's son Theodore II (1145-69), and of his son Ruben II (1169-70), his brother Mleh (1170-5), and nephew Ruben III (1175-86) was one of steady, if interrupted, growth, and of struggle with foes from several quarters. Theodore I wrested from the Empire the upper valley of the Pyramus, with Sis and Anazarbus; Leo I, seizing Mopsuestia (Mamistra), Adana, and Tarsus (which the [630] Byzantines had taken from the crusaders), by 1133 held the whole of eastern Cilicia. His seizure of a fortress on the Antiochene border, however, led to a war with the prince of Antioch. The two sovereigns then came to terms before the common menace of the Emperor John II's offensive aimed at recovering both Cilicia and Antioch. In 1137 the Emperor overran and annexed Rubenid Cilicia, in 1138 taking captive Leo I and two of his sons; the Prince died in captivity (1141), his elder son expired after suffering blinding, but his younger son Theodore II escaped his gaolers after John II's death (1143). Returning to Cilicia, where Armenians groaned under Byzantine repression, he organised a struggle for independence. He defeated the punitive expedition sent by the Emperor Manuel under the command of Andronicus Comnenus and made himself master of the Cilician cities of Sis, Anazarbus, Adana, Tarsus and Mamistra. Neither the Seljuq attacks of 1153 and 1154, nor the war with Antioch in 1155—prompted by imperial diplomacy—could dislodge the Rubenid. Finally, in 1158 Manuel took the field in person against not only Cilicia, but also Antioch. Nearly taken by surprise, Theodore II fled to the mountains while the imperial armies occupied lower Cilicia. In 1159 Baldwin III of Jerusalem, proponent of a crusader-Byzantine alliance, arranged a peace between Manuel and Theodore; accepting imperial suzerainty, the latter received upper Cilicia and the title of *Pansebastus* (1). Yet Armeno-Byzantine relations worsened. In 1162 the Prince's younger brother Stephen, while attempting to expand over Muslim territory, was captured by the imperial governor of lower Cilicia and boiled alive. Theodore rose in revolt again and seized Mamistra and Anazarbus. A peace, upholding the *status quo*, was however again arranged by the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin's brother Amaury I.

Ruben II was under age at accession, and his uncle Mleh, once a Templar and then a renegade to Islam, invaded his realm with the aid of Nur-ad-Din, Atabeg of Aleppo and Damascus, and seized the throne. Ruben took refuge in the *Katholikos'* fortress of Hr'omkla, where he soon died. Reversing the policy of his dynasty, Mleh allied himself with the Muslims against the crusaders; and it was only after Nur-ad-Din's death that his own vassals slew Mleh in 1175. His successor was Ruben III, son of the unfortunate Stephen. Taking advantage of the Empire's plight after Myrioccephalum (1176), he achieved the consolidation of all Cilicia under his sceptre. But, while reducing to obedience the pro-Byzantine dynast of Lambron, Het'um II, he was treacherously captured by the latter's ally, Bohemond III of Antioch, who then marched into Cilicia. Bohemond, [631] however, reckoned without Ruben's brother Leo. Leo beat off the Antiochene and forced Het'um of Lambron to obtain Ruben's release; Adana, and Mamistra, a part of his ransom, were subsequently recovered. In 1186 Ruben III retired to a monastery leaving no son, and Leo became prince.

With Leo II the Great, or the Magnificent (1186-1219), and his son-in-law Het'um (Hayton) I (1226-69), Armenia in exile reached the summit of power and prosperity: it became a kingdom and played a decisive role in world politics and international commerce. all this was largely due to the administrative genius, military prowess, diplomatic skill, and above all grandiose political vision of these two monarchs. Yet the pressure of external foes did not diminish during this period; the eastern Empire, indeed, no longer mattered as an enemy, but the newly risen Ayyubids infused fresh vigour into Islam by bringing Egypt within the Sunnite sphere, and organised a counter-offensive which in the end destroyed both the crusader states and New Armenia.

In his Antiochene policy, however, Leo was not successful. His attempt to annex Antioch in 1194, by seizing his brother's former captor Bohemond by a trick, failed when a hint at Armenian religious intolerance provoked the submissive city to reject its new master. Then, through the mediation of Henry of Champagne, king of Jerusalem, peace was made, Bohemond restored, Armenia's precedence over Antioch accepted, and Alice, Ruben III's daughter, married to Bohemond's son Raymond. This peace nevertheless held seeds of war—the war

of the Antiochene succession. When in 1201 Bohemond III died, his throne was seized by his younger son Bohemond IV to the exclusion of the rightful heir, Raymond-Ruben, son of the lately deceased elder son Raymond. His great-uncle Leo of Armenia, the Latin clergy and most of the nobility of Antioch, and the Knights Hospitallers supported Raymond-Ruben; the usurper, on the other hand, sought the assistance of the Ayyubids of Aleppo (whose attack on Armenia Leo had repulsed in 1189) and of the Iconian Seljuqs, and found support with the Antiochene Greeks and the Templars (who disputed Leo's possession of the castle of Gasim). In 1206 Leo defeated an army of Aleppo, but was unsuccessful against those of both Aleppo and Iconium in 1208. In 1211 the Templars gained from him Gastim. Though he seized Heraclea and Laranda in that year from the Seljuqs, he lost to them Isauria down to Seleucia in 1216. Thus, even in his great reign, the Rubenid realm had already suffered diminution. And when in that same year Leo definitively set up Raymond-Ruben in Antioch, the ungrateful young man quarrelled with his benefactor.

[632] It was in his *Weltpolitik* that Leo achieved eminent success. Fearing the Ayyubids whose *jihad* was then reducing the Latin states, and distrusting Saladin's Byzantine allies, he decided on close collaboration with the West. Armenia, it so happened, fitted well into the Hohenstaufen dream of universal Empire. Hence the *rapprochement* of Leo with Frederick Barbarossa and, later, Henry VI. Pursuing his policy, Leo gave wholehearted support to Frederick's ill-starred crusade and worked for a reunion with Rome. His negotiations with Pope Celestine III and the Emperor Henry VI, begun in 1195, were culminated in 1198 (1199?), when, recognised by both as King of Armenia and recognising, together with the *Katholikos* Gregory VI Pahlavuni, the supremacy of the Holy See, Leo was solemnly crowned at Tarsus by Cardinal Conrad of Wittelsbach and by the *Katholikos* (1).

King Leo II also applied his energies to reorganising his kingdom. In order further to enhance the powers of the Crown, he constitutionalised the change of the basically dynastic Caucasian structure of society into a Western, purely feudal, one. Various lesser sovereigns under his suzerainty were 'mediatised' as mere feudatories, holding fiefs on a contractual basis and bereft of many former rights. The fact that they had been uprooted from their native soil and that many of them were not originally dynastic, may account for the ease of the change. Yet resentment there must have been, as is attested by the revolt of the Prince of Lambron, before Leo's reign was over. Below these ex-dynastic 'great barons' were, as ever, the lesser nobles of arrière vassals, and then the burghers. Many of the Armenian peasant immigrants were freeholders, while the local Cilician peasants were serfs. The judicial system was organised on the western pattern. At Sis, the capital, there was the High Court, modelled on the Assizes of Antioch and alone endowed with the right of 'high justice' once held by the great barons; and the Low Court, for the burgesses. There were also baronial and monastic courts, those of the Orders, like the Hospitallers established at Isaurian Seleucia, and the consular tribunals of the Genoese and the Venetians. Various aulic functions and titles were borrowed from the crusaders and the Byzantines (Bailiff, Marshal, Seneschal, *Basileopator*, *Porphyrogenitus*, [633] *Proximus*); some Armenian offices assumed Latin names. The institution of chivalry was introduced. Latin and French, next to Armenian, were the official languages of the realm. Leo also paid attention to a better organisation of the armed forces and to the fortification of the frontiers.

The King promoted economic development. More important than industry and export was Armenia's position at the junction of several trade-routes—Syria-Iconium-Constantinople; Tabriz-Mar'ash-the Mediterranean; the Persian Gulf-Syria-Cilicia—which converged towards its ports of Ayas (Lajazzo), Kor'ikos, Tarsus, and were used especially for the spice trade. Aware of the urgency of Western aid, Leo strove to make his kingdom accessible and interesting. Extensive privileges were granted to the Genoese and the Venetians; and an Armenian fleet was built in order to facilitate trade with Italy. From the West came also scholastic philosophy, and works of St. Thomas Aquinas were translated in the fourteenth century. This was a period of great literary endeavour, both in New and, under foreign rule, Old Armenia (1).

Dying on 2 May 1219 without male heirs, Leo II had his daughter Isabel (Zabel) proclaimed queen the day before. The veritable ruler, however, was one of the two regents, the king-maker Constantine, Prince of Askur'a and Lemos, of the house of Lambron. He deposed, and disposed of, the Antiochene Raymond-Ruben, who claimed Armenia in 1221, and Isabel's husband, King Philip (1222-5), son of Bohemond IV of Antioch. Finally,

he forced the queen to marry, in 1226, his own son Het'um. After age-long rivalry, the Het'umids of Lambron thus finally succeeded the Rubenids.

Het'um I was, naturally enough, faced with Antioch's enmity; and it was only in the 1250's that he and Bohemond V were reconciled by St. Louis of France, then in the Levant. The marriage of Het'um's daughter Sibyl to Bohemond VI in 1254 sealed the alliance of the two Christian states—a *conditio sine qua non* of survival in the face of the Mamluks, now continuing the Egyptian *jihad* of the Ayyubids. Secure in this quarter, Het'um I embarked upon his own *Weltpolitik*. The advent of the Mongols, ruining Georgia, saved Armenia. It lay outside the path of their conquests and shared with them a common foe in the Mamluks. Het'um's programme was, accordingly, to replace the Western by the Mongol alliance and to organise a [634] Christian-Mongol offensive against Islam and its stronghold Egypt. Through his brother, the Constable Smbat, in 1247, and in 1254, when he journeyed in person to see the Great Khan, the king placed his realm under Mongol suzerainty. And it was this policy that was largely responsible for the Mongol invasion of Syria and Mesopotamia, in which Armenian, Georgian and Antiochene knights took part and which culminated in the capture of Baghdad in 1258. Simultaneously, Het'um waged an economic war on Egypt, which, in addition to religious and political considerations, was Armenia's rival in the spice trade.

The Mongol 'crusade', however, miscarried no less than Bararossa's. The Franks of the Levant, lacking Het'um's vision, failed to co-operate. And in 1260 the Mamluks inflicted upon the Mongols their first defeat and restored Egyptian control of Syria. The Mongol Empire had itself meantime become dismembered; and Bereke, Khan of the Golden Horde, embraced Islam. Armenia's protectors, the Ilkhans, paralysed by the alliance of Bereke with Baybars of Egypt, could not retaliate for the defeat of 1260. Baybars, on his part, pursued the Mamluk victory. In 1266 he invaded Armenia, subjecting it to fire and sword, and led 40,000 captive, including the king's son Leo. In 1268 Antioch fell to the Mamluks. Het'um was constrained to sue for peace and to ransom his son at the price of territorial concessions. Nevertheless, upon Het'um's assuming the habit of a Franciscan, Leo III (1269-89) continued his father's Mongol policy, which found its Western proponent in Edward I of England. Surrounded by the sea of Islam and prompted by the Kings of Armenia and of England, the Ilkhans worked, for their part, towards a Christian-Mongol coalition. In 1281 the Ilkhan Abagha, assisted by Armenians, Georgians and Franks, took the field against the Mamluks, only to meet with a defeat at Homs (30 October).

The epoch of Leo III's successors was one of mortal disaster, speeded by internal disruption as much as by blows from the outside. The Crown weakened owing to the dynasty itself. Of the sons of Leo III, five reached the throne. The eldest, Het'um II, abdicated in his fourth year (1293) in favour of his next brother, Theodore III, but was recalled to the throne in 1294. In 1296 the third brother, Smbat I, seized the crown, strangling Theodore and blinding Het'um, but was overthrown by 1298 by the fourth brother, Constantine II. His power was ephemeral, for the barons presently restored Het'um II, whose sight had partially recovered; but in 1305 he abdicated in favour of Theodore III's young son, Leo IV (1305-8), yet continued to rule for him. The weakness of the Crown gave rein to baronial insubordination, and rebellious vassals did not hesitate to conspire [635] with the country's enemies. Worse still, Armenian society became rent by internal strife between the small governing group, kings and *Katholikoi*, lords spiritual and temporal, clinging to the tenuous union with Rome and to Western alliances, and the anti-Western and anti-Catholic baronial and ecclesiastical faction (1). In 1308 the latter stooped to organising the murder, by some Muslim Mongols, of King Leo IV, the old Het'um II, and a number of lords in their following. Political decay was accompanied by moral decadence. Leo III's fifth son, Oshin I (1308-20) (2), was succeeded by his son, the last Het'umid, Leo V (1320-41), under whom the court of sis became a scene of bloody tragedies. The head of the council of regency in the king's minority was one of the milder nationalists, Oshin, Count of Kor'ikos, who married Oshin I's widow, Joan of Anjou-Taranto, and who forced Leo V to marry his daughter by a previous marriage. To diminish Western influence at court, he caused the death of the king's aunt Isabel, widow of Amaury of Lusignan, Prince of Tyre, and of two of her sons. Later, in 1329, Leo V assumed power and put to death both his unloved wife and his father-in-law. Dying childless, Leo V bequeathed the Crown to his Lusignan cousins, sons of his aunt Isabel of Tyre.

While thus undermined internally, Armenia was incessantly battered by the Muslims. Between 1274 and 1305 this Christian bastion in the Near East was continually invaded, pillaged and laid waste by the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria and by the Seljuqs from the north. It is astonishing that Leo III and Het'um II were at all able to

repulse the aggressors and to propitiate them, in lieu of conquest, with tribute and territorial concessions. But though Armenia's independence was preserved, its prosperity vanished during this struggle. The Ilkhans had ceased to offer protection and were themselves rapidly succumbing to Islamic influences. In 1299-1300 an attempt to resume the anti-Mamluk offensive, on the part of Ghazan-Khan, Het'um II and the King of Georgia, though at first successful, came to nought (3), as did another attempt in 1303. and in 1304 the Ilkhans definitively espoused Islam: Armenia's protectors became its enemies, and the Muslim ring round it grew narrower. Armenia had now to sustain the added Mongol pressure, while treachery at home, as in 1308, incited the new foe to new attacks.

[636] The West indeed remained the only hope; and Oshin I and his successors continued, despite nationalist opposition, the traditional policy of strengthening their blood ties with the Cypriot, Byzantine and West European courts. Appeals for aid were ceaselessly sent to the West and there reiterated by the Papacy, only to fall on deaf ears. Armenia had to go on fighting alone. More enemy attacks were repulsed between 1319 and 1323. In that year, the fierce Armenian resistance forced Nasir of Egypt to conclude a fifteen years' truce Leo V promised, *inter alia*, to pay the annual tribute of 50,000 gold florins and half the customs revenues of Ayas, which the Sultan, having destroyed it in the war, undertook, on his part, to rebuild. When Philip V of France, in 1335 yielding at last to the Pope's incessant entreaties, decided to aid Armenia, the Muslims struck again. Leo V was compelled to conclude another treaty with Nasir, in 1337, wherein he pledged himself never again to associate with the West.

Under the Lusignans Armenia's death agony began. The internal strife grew more intense. King Guy, third son of Isabel of Armenia and Amaury of Tyre, ascended the throne in 1342, in accordance with Leo V's bequest, intending to fight with Western aid in defence of his country. But two years later (17 November 1344), he and 300 Western knights, who had come to that defence, were massacred by the fanatically nationalist and defeatist barons. These then raised to the throne men outside the royal line. Nevertheless, their creature, Constantine III (1344-63), son of Baldwin of Nigrinum, Marshal of Armenia, descendant through his mother of the Constable Smbat, and husband of the daughter of Oshin of Kor'ikos by Joan of Anjou-Taranto, continued the same policy. He reaffirmed the union with Rome in 1345 and, with the aid of the King of Cyprus and the Hospitallers, defeated in 1356 the Mamluk invaders of Armenia. In 1359, however, lower Cilicia was overrun by the Muslims. The next king, Constantine IV (1365-73), a cousin of his predecessor, and son of Het'um, Chamberlain of Armenia, was slain by the barons who had set him up, while in 1368-9 a part of the country welcomed as king Peter I of Cyprus. Finally, the crown reverted in 1373 to the lawful line in the person of the last King of Armenia, Leo VI, son of King Guy's brother John (1) by a Georgian princess. The new king found his realm reduced to Sis and Anazarbus with adjoining regions and a few castles, and obviously incapable of withstanding another enemy blow. That blow was finally dealt in 1375 by the Mamluk viceroy of Aleppo, [637] and powerfully aided by baronial betrayal at home. On 13 April 1375 Sis fell to the Muslims, and the king, his wife Margaret of Soissons and their two children were taken into captivity. Upon refusing to regain his crown at the price of apostasy, Leo VI and his family were brought to Cairo, where the queen and the children died in prison. Only in 1382 was the last King of Armenia set at liberty through the mediation of the King of Castile; he came to Europe and finally settled in Paris, the recipient of the Papal Golden Rose, where he died on 29 November 1393. Within him the political history of Armenia came to a close. Cilicia formed part of the Mamluk possessions until the sixteenth century, when it passed to the Ottomans. The title of King of Armenia was inherited by the Lusignans of Cyprus and, from them, by the House of Savoy. Only in Old Armenia could some vestiges of the once imposing structure of the Armenian polity be found in the houses of dynasts (*meliks*) in Qarabagh (Siunia and a part of cis-Cyran Albania), sovereign under Muslim suzerainty until the Russian annexation in the nineteenth century; while a number of houses of the Armenian dynastic aristocracy survived in the princely nobility of neighbouring Georgia.

Note on Transliteration

Phonetic transcription of Armenian and Georgian words is used in this chapter and its notes. A more scientific transliteration is used in the Bibliography and List of Rulers: there each letter of the Armenian and Georgian alphabets corresponds to a single letter of the Latin alphabet, thus necessitating the use of diacritical marks.

Names are indexed under the transcription found in this chapter and cross-references given to the transliteration used in the [List of Rulers](#).

Addendum

Some details of the genealogy and chronology in the section on *Armenia in Exile* need revision in the light of the study by W. H. Rüdert-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: the Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties* (Lisbon, 1963), which appeared after this chapter was ready for press.

Armenia and Georgia

by Cyril Toumanoff

Footnotes

Also see this article's [Bibliography](#)

[page 593]

1. The term 'Transcaucasia' for the regions south of the Caucasus range derives from a geo-political conception wholly alien to the period covered in this chapter. These regions are designated here as cis-Caucasia or, simply, Caucasia; cf. C. Toumanoff, 'Introduction to Christian Caucasian History: the Formative Centuries (IVth-VIIIth)', *Traditio* XV (1959), 2, 6-7.

[594]

1. H. Focillon, preface to J. Baltrusaitis, *Etudes sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie* (Paris, 1929), p. viii.
2. In the fourth century B.C.
3. Pompey imposed Roman suzerainty upon these kingdoms in 66-64 B.C.

[595]

1. The conversion of Armenia took place in 314, under Tiridates III; that of Iberia occurred, under Mirian I (III), in 337; cf. P. Ananian, 'La data e circostanze della consecrazione di S. Gregorio Illuminatore', *Le Muséon* LXXIV (1961), xxx ff.; C. Toumanoff, 'Christian Caucasia between Byzantium and Iran: New Light from Old Sources', *Traditio* X (1954), 124 ff.

2. By that treaty, in 298, the Great King ceded to Rome the suzerainty over Armenia and Iberia.

3. For the genesis and structure of Caucasian society, see C. Toumanoff, 'Introduction to Christian Caucasian History', I and II *Traditio* XV and XVII (1959-61). The situation was similar to that in the Holy Roman Empire after the Peace of Westphalia, except that the German princes, hardly any of whom was of dynastic origin, did indeed owe their rights to a concession of the Crown, whereas the rights of the Caucasian princes antedated those of the Crown and any concession on its part was a legal fiction. For the international status of the Armenian princes, placed under Roman suzerainty in 298 and 387 ('satrap' is the Roman bureaucratic misnomer, see

[596]

Procopius, *De aed.* III, 1, 18-23, where their ceremonial vestments are described). Sent to them by the Emperor, these insignia included the red boots, 'which only the Roman and the Iranian emperors have the right to wear'. They were more splendid than those sent to the vassal kings of Lazica.—The dynastic aspect of the princes was expressed by the Armenian terms *ishkan*, *nahapet* and *(tanu)te'r* and the Georgian terms *mt'avar* and *sep'etsul*; their feudal aspect, as dukes, by the Armenian *nakharar* and the Georgian *erist'av*. The margravian *vitaxae* went by the Armenian title of *bdeashkh* and the Georgian *pitiakhsh*. The differentiation of the Arab period between the greater princes and the lesser ones, their vassals, came to be expressed by the titles of *ishkhan* and *nakharar* respectively. Princely cadets had the title of *sepuh*. The lesser nobles were designated by the term *azat* in Armenian and *aznaur* in Georgian.

[597]

1. The political weight of these houses is best illustrated by the size of their cavalry contingents, placed at the service of their suzerain, the King of Armenia and, later, the Great King: Gogarene and Arzanene, 4500 and 4000 horse respectively; Ingilene, 3400; Artsruni, Bagratids, Mamikonids, Sophene, 1000 each; Kamsarakan, 600; Siunia, at a later period, 9400 horse; cf. C. Toumanoff, 'Introduction', II, table V. The number of the princely states varied at different epochs. There were some fifty states belonging to some thirty dynasties in the Arsacid monarchy; after its abolition, the number decreased to forty-two states and twenty-seven dynasties, c. 400; thirty-four states and twenty dynasties, c. 500; and to some twenty states and thirteen dynasties, c. 800; *ibid* tables II and III.—Though of local provenance, many dynasties devised for themselves exotic antecedents: the Bagratids claimed Hebrew origin, which later evolved into the celebrated Davidic tradition, the Mamikonids deduced themselves from the Emperors of China, and the Artsrunis from the Kings of Assyria.

2. Surnames in the genitive plural often figure in the princely nomenclature of Armenia; C. Toumanoff, 'Introduction', I, p. 73.

[598]

1. This writer agrees entirely with N. H. Baynes, 'Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century', *EHR*, XXV, 625-43, E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, I (Paris, 1959), 205-6, and S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, p. 6 regarding the date of the partition of Armenia. The date 384, proposed anew by J. Doise, 'Le partage de l'Arménie sous Thoédose Ier', *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, XLVII (1945), 274-7, is contradicted by the sequence of events in Faustus of Buzanda, 5.35-44; 6.1. Cf. C. Toumanoff, 'Iberia on the Eve of Bagratid Rule: An Enquiry into the Political History of Eastern Georgia between the VIth and the IXth Century', *Le Muséon*, LXV (1952), 1, n. 5; *Christian Caucasasia*, p. 131, n. 80.—The recently discovered new version of the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* attributes the founding of Theodosiopolis to Theodosius I, linking it to the partition of Armenia, whereas Procopius would assign both events to the reign of Theodosius II; cf. G. Garitte, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae. Edition critique et commentaire* (Louvain, 1952), pp. 27, 67-9; C. Toumanoff, 'Christian Caucasasia', p. 131.

2. Among the princes of the former kingdom were the scions of the Arsacid dynasty, destined to play a considerable role in Byzantine history in the sixth and seventh centuries; C. Toumanoff, 'Introduction', I § 12.

[599]

1. With the deposition in 428 of St. Isaac, in whose family the position of chief prelate of Armenia had become quasi-hereditary, and under the Iranian nominee who replaced him, the Church of Armenia, hitherto a dependency of Caesarea (in Cappadocia), broke with its mother-church. After that event, the chief bishops of Armenia began to style themselves *Katholikoi*. This was doubtless done in imitation of the *Katholikoi* of Seleucia-Ctesiphon who had, by 424, evolved from mere 'Representatives General' of Antioch to be the heads of national Syro-Iranian Christianity (soon to become Nestorian in doctrine); cf. G. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 56-7; C. Toumanoff, 'Christian Caucasasia', § 21.

2. The historians of this 'Golden Age' of Armenian literature included Agathangelus and Faustus of Buzanda (fifth century, though possibly translations of earlier works in Greek or Syriac), Lazarus of P'arpi and Eliseus (fifth-sixth centuries); to this age also belonged the hagiographer Koriun and the theologian Eznik of Koghb (fifth century) and possibly the philosopher David the Invincible.

[600]

For the chronology of this monarch adopted here and his identification with the Gurgenes of Procopius (*Bell. pers.*, 1. 12. 1-13; 2. 28. 20) see C. Toumanoff's review of E. Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, in *Traditio*, and 'Iberia on the Eve of Bagratid Rule', *Le Muséon*, LXV (1952).

[601]

1. See C. Toumanoff, 'Christian Caucasia', §§ 31-5, and, for this ecclesiastical title, see above p. 599, n. 1. In choosing it, Iberia, like Albania later on followed the example of Armenia. Later in the middle ages, Abasgia (West Georgia), following the East Georgian example, also had a *Katholikos* at the head of its ecclesiastical organisation.

[602]

1. For the facts and the chronology of the abolition of the Iberian monarchy, see C. Toumanoff, 'Iberia on the Eve of Bagratid Rule', I. The curtailment of the powers of Vakhtang Gorgasal's successors was mistaken by Procopius (*Bell. pers.* 2. 28. 20-1) for the abolition itself.

[603]

1. The principate of Iberia and its chronology, as well as the identity of Guaram of Cholarzene-Javakhet'i with the Gorgenes of Theophanes of Byzantium and John of Ephesus are discussed by C. Toumanoff in 'Iberia on the Eve of Bagratid Rule'.

2. DR, 104.

[604]

1. G. Garitte's critical edition of the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (see above p. 598, n. 1) and his commentary on this text make it necessary to revise some hitherto accepted notions of Armenian religious history down to the eighth century; cf. C. Toumanoff, 'Christian Caucasia'. The formation of the national Armenian (Monophysite) Church was connected with that of the national calendar.—See the following note.

2. Cf. C. Toumanoff, 'Christian Caucasia', pp. 37-40. Anxious to separate its Christian vassals from the Empire, the Sassanid government tended, after 519, to patronise Monophysitism in Caucasia. Accordingly, Stephen I's Iranophile policy entailed the installation as *Katholikos* of a Monophysite: Cyrion (Kyrion) I. When, however, the latter gave up Monophysitism for Catholicism, he came into conflict with his former co-religionist, Abraham of Iranian Armenia.

[608]

1. Armenian and Georgian forms of the same *praenomina* differ occasionally, thus: Atrnerseh and Adarnase, Bagarat and Bagrat, Gurge'n and Gurgen, Smbat and Sumbat, Nerseh or Nerse's and Nerse.

[610]

1. C. Toumanoff, 'Introduction', II, p. 12, no. 14 and n. 228.—The *comes Obsequii* Mezezius, who was proclaimed Emperor by the armies in Sicily upon the murder of Constans II in September 668 and was killed at the beginning of 669, belonged to the same princely family.

2. 'Abkhazia' renders the narrow sense of *Ap'khazet'i*, that is, the north-westernmost province of West Georgia; 'Abasgia' translates the same word in its broad sense of the medieval kingdom coextensive with West Georgia; cf. C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Kings of Abasgia and Other Problems', *Le Muséon*, LXIX (1956), 73.

3. Several Caucasian dynasties claimed the title of Albania: (1) the Mihranid princes of Gardman, set up by Heraclius as presiding princes of (cis-Cyran) Albania and, from 821/2, their Siunid successors, whom the expanding Shrvanshahs, Muzafarids of Azerbaijan, Bagratids of Lor'i, and Shaddadids reduced to the territory of

P'ar'isos on the Albanian- Siunian border; (2) the dynasty founded at the end of the ninth century in Shakki and Heret'i, in trans-Cyran Albania, which however was ultimately superseded by the rulers of Kakheta; and (3) the Bagratids of Lor'i who, by virtue of holding some Albanian lands, regarded themselves as kings of Albania.

[612]

1. The so-called 'Letter of Photius' to the *Katholikos* Zacharias regarding the union with the Byzantine Church is apocryphal, as has been shown by G. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 370-5; cf. C. Toumanoff, 'Caucasia and Byzantine Studies', *Traditio* XII (1956), 410 and n. 7. It exists only in Armenian and is based on the prototype of the Armenian text (now lost) of the *Narratio*. Another part of this document purports to be Photius' letter to Ashot V of Armenia.

[614]

1. *DR*, 596.

[616]

1. This was the age of the historians like Sebeos (seventh century), Leontius (Ghevond, eighth century), Pseudo-Moses of Khoren (late eighth century), the *Katholikos* John VI (d. 931), Moses of Kaghankaytuk' or of Daskhuren and Thomas Artsruni (tenth century), Stephen Asoghik of Taraun (eleventh century), Aristakes of Lastivert (d. 1071). The 'Armenian Pindar' Gregory of Narek (d. 1010) and the polyhistor Gregory Pahlavuni (d. 1058) also flourished at that time.

[617]

1. *DR*, 746, 749-53.

2. *DR*, 761.

[618]

1. *DR*, 780.

[619]

1. *DR*, 809.

2. See below: p. 621.

3. *DR*, 813.

[621]

1. *DR*, 833.

[622]

1. Martha of Georgia took the name of Mary on marrying Michael. She was known as Mary of Alania, her mother, Bagrat IV's second wife, having been a princess of Alania-Ossetia. Mary subsequently married Nicephorus II Botaneiates.

[623]

1. Georgian historiography has erroneously called David 'the Second', though he was the third of that name among the Bagratid sovereigns.
 2. Georgian knows no distinction of genders; accordingly, Tamar as a reigning sovereign was entitled *mep'e* (that is, king or queen regnant). This has sometimes been erroneously interpreted by modern historians as her having been proclaimed a 'king'.
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[625]

1. The historians included: Gregory the Deacon (seventh century), Leontius of Ruisi (Leonti Mroveli, eighth century), Juansher (eighth-ninth century), Sumbat son of David (eleventh century), Arsenius the Monk (the biographer of David III), the two Historians of Tamar, the Historian of George IV, and the Meschian Chronographer (fourteenth century). The works of some of these, and of others, came to form the Georgian Royal Annals (*K'ar'lis Ts'khovreba*).
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[626]

1. He was a son of the Prince of Erzerum. His conversion to Christianity, at his father's instance, and the subsequent founding of the Georgian line of the Seljuqs in Imeretia (West Georgia) bear witness to the spiritual and cultural influence of Georgia upon its Islamic neighbours—a peaceful counterpart of the Georgian Crusade. For the Imeretian Seljuqs, see C. Toumanoff, 'The Fifteenth-century Bagratids and the Institution of Collegial Sovereignty in Georgia', *Traditio* VII (1949-51), 181-3.
 2. The most important princely houses were at that time the Mkhargrdzeli-Zachariads of Lor'i, Jaqelis of Meschia (Samts'khe), Dadianis of Mingrelia, Sharvashidzes of Bakhazia, T'orelis of Javakhet'i, Orbeli-Kakhaberidzes of Racha, Orbelianis of Surami. The latter's cousins, exiled under George III, had come to reign, under the protection of the *Atabegs* of Azerbaijan and, later, the Mongols, in the Armenian principality of Siunia.
 3. The system of collegial sovereignty is to be distinguished from the universal practice of co-opting the heir. For this system and for the reasons for counting George the Illustrious as the Sixth, as well as for the order of succession followed here, see C. Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, *Traditio* VII (1949-51).
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[627]

1. D. M. Lang, 'Georgia in the Reign of Giorgi the Brilliant', *BSOAS*, XVII (1955), 74-91. This study made it necessary to revise the traditional conception of that reign; cf. also W. E. D. Allen's review of Lang's *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, in *BSOAS*, XVII (1956), 379-81. Lang does not seem to accept the above order of succession and the implications of collegial sovereignty.
 2. For 1405 as the year of George VII's death and Constantine I's accession, see C. Toumanoff, 'Fifteenth-century Bagratids', p. 174.
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[629]

1. New Armenia has also been called Lesser or Little Armenia, Armeno-Cilicia, and Sisuan. In transcribing Armenian names, the classical pronunciation of Armenian is followed throughout this study, although in New Armenia the language was affected by the phonetic development of western Armenian, whereby the surd consonants are pronounced as sonant and *vice versa*. For this reason, the Rubenids are sometimes referred to as 'Rupenids' or 'Rupenians'.
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[630]

1. *DR*, 1431.

[632]

1. The earlier title of the Rubenids was that of 'Prince', which was later interpreted in the peculiarly medieval-Armenian (as well as early-medieval Western) sense of 'Baron'. Some historians compute the ordinal numbers of the neo-Armenian sovereigns from the coronation of Leo, the Princes being given a different numeration. This, to be sure, has the sepulchral inscription of the last king in its favour; but the system adopted here helps to avoid confusion. The case of the Bagratid Kings of Armenia is different, because the ordinals of the earlier presiding princes are those of family heads.

[632]

1. This was the epoch of the historians like Matthew of Edessa and Samuel of Ani (twelfth century), Vardan the Great (d. 1271), Kirakos of Ganja (d. 1272), the Constable Smbat of Armenia (d. 1276), Stephen Orbelian of Siunia (d. 1304), Thomas of Metsop' (d. 1446) and others. Religious poetry reached great heights with the *Katholikos* Nerses IV the Gracious (d. 1173), and theology in the works of Nerses of Lambron (d. 1198). This epoch is known as the Silver Age.

[635]

1. The latter faction found support and sympathy in the clergy of Old Armenia, reconciled with foreign rule.
 2. Oshin I is considered by some to have been a brother of Leo IV.
 3. In the course of this campaign, the Mongols ceded Jerusalem to their Georgian allies, who kept the city for a year (1300) and who, for some time thereafter, enjoyed certain rights with regard to the Holy Sepulchre; see M. Tamarati, *L'église géorgienne des origines jusqu' à nos jours* (Rome, 1910), pp. 436-7 (and the sources cited therein).
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[636]

1. John de Lusignan, who was Regent of Armenia for his brother Guy, is regarded by some historians as King Constantine III, with the resulting change in the numeration of the subsequent rulers of that name.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AASS** *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana* (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
AB *Analecta Bollandiana* (Paris and Brussels, 1882-).
AcadIBL *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*.
AcadIP *Académie Impériale de St Pétersbourg*.
AHR *American Historical Review* (New York and London, 1895-).
AIPHO *Annales de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves de l'Université de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1932-).
AJT *American Journal of Theology* (Chicago, 1897-).
AKKR *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* (Mainz, 1857-).
AMAP *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia patavina di sc., lett. ed arti* (Padua).
AMur. *Archivio Muratoriano, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan, Bologna, etc., 1723-).
AOC *Archives de l'Orient Chrétien* (Bucharest, 1948-).
Arch. Praed. *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1930-).
Arch. Ven. (and *N. Arch. Ven.*; *N. Arch. Ven. n.s.*; *Arch. Ven.-Tri.*; *Arch. Ven. ser. 5*). *Archivio Veneto*, 40 vols. (Venice, 1871-90); continued as *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 20 vols. (1891-1900); *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, nuova serie, 42 vols. (1901-21); *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino* (1922-6); *Archivio Veneto*, quinta serie (1927-).
ASAK *Anzeiger für schweizerische Alterthumskunde* (Zurich, 1869-1938).
ASBM *Annales ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni* (Rome, 1949-).
ASI *Archivio storico italiano* (Florence). Ser. i, 20 vols. and App. 9 vols. 1842-53. Index 1857. Ser. nuova, 18 vols. 1855-63. Ser. iii, 26 vols. 1865-77. Indexes to ii and iii 1874. Suppl. 1877. Ser. iv, 20 vols. 1878-87. Index 1891. Ser. v, 49 vols. 1888-1912. Index 1900. Anni 71, etc. 1913- , in progress (Index to 1927 in *Catalogue of the London Library*, i, 1913 and Suppls., 1920, 1929).
ASL *Archivio storico lombardo* (Milan, 1874-).
ASP *Archiv für slavische Philologie* (Berlin, 1876-1929).
ASPN *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* (Naples, 1876-).
ASRSP *Archivio della società romana di storia patria* (Rome, 1878-).
Atti Ist. Ven. S.L.A. *Atti. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte* (Venice, 1841-).
AU *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (Berlin, 1907-).

<i>B</i>	<i>Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines</i> (Paris and Liège, 1924-9; Paris and Brussels, 1930; Brussels, etc., 1931-).
<i>BA</i>	<i>Byzantinisches Archiv</i> (at intervals; Leipzig and Munich, 1898-).
<i>BBi</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute</i> (Paris, 1946-).
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes</i> (Paris, 1939-).
<i>Beck</i>	Beck, H.-G., <i>Kirche und theologische Literatur</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1).
<i>Bess.</i>	<i>Bessarione</i> (Rome, 1896-1923).
<i>BIIE</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes</i> (Paris, 1839-).
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>BIDR</i>	<i>Bullettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano</i> (Rome, 1888-).
<i>BISI</i>	<i>Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano</i> (Rome, 1886-).
<i>BM</i>	<i>Byzantina Metabyzantina</i> , I (New York, 1946); II (1949).
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i> (Berlin, 1920-5; at intervals, Athens, 1926-).
<i>BS</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i> (Prague, 1929-).
<i>BSA</i>	<i>British School (of Archaeology) at Athens. Annual</i> (London, 1895-).
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London, 1917-).
<i>Budé</i>	<i>Collection byzantine publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé</i> (Paris).
<i>BUniv.</i>	<i>Biographie universelle</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1).
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> (Leipzig, 1892-).
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> (Cambridge, 1923-39).
<i>CH</i>	Langlois, V., <i>Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1868-9).
<i>CHJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Historical Journal</i> (Cambridge, 1924-57).
<i>CHM</i>	<i>Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale</i> (Paris, 1953-).
<i>CM</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i> (Copenhagen, 1938-).
<i>CMH</i>	<i>Cambridge Medieval History</i> (Cambridge, 1913-).
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i> (London, 1887-).
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>CSHB</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>D</i>	<i>Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος</i> (Athens, 1883-).
<i>DA</i>	<i>Δελτίον τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας</i> (Alexandria, 1948-).
<i>DAOL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1).
<i>DAI</i>	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, <i>De administrando imperio</i> , ed. Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (see Gen. Bibl. iv).

DDC	<i>Dictionnaire de droit canonique</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1).
DHGÉ	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1).
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1941-).
DR	Dölger, F., <i>Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1v).
DS	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1).
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1).
DZG	<i>Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft</i> (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1889-98) (continued as <i>Historische Vierteljahrsschrift</i> [HVJS], q.v.).
DZKR	<i>Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht</i> (Tübingen, 1861-1917).
EB	<i>Etudes byzantines</i> , 1-III (Bucharest, 1943-5) (continued as <i>Revue des études byzantines</i> [REB], q.v.).
EcfAR	<i>Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> (Paris).
ECQ	<i>Eastern Churches Quarterly</i> (Ramsgate, 1936-).
EEBS	Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (Athens, 1924-).
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i> (London, 1886-).
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i> (Constantinople and Paris, 1897-1942) (continued as <i>Etudes Byzantines</i> [EB], q.v.).
Ersch-Gruber	Ersch, J. S. and Gruber, J. G., <i>Allgemeine Encyclopädie</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1).
FHG	Müller, C., <i>Fragmenta historicorum graecorum</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1v).
Fonti	<i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1v).
GBL	K. Krumbacher, <i>Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur</i> (see Gen. Bibl. v).
Glas	<i>Glas Srpska Akademii Nauka</i> (Belgrade, 1949-) (continuation of <i>Glas Srpska Kraljevska Akad.</i> , Belgrade, 1888-1940).
Gn	<i>Gnomon</i> , 1-XX (Berlin, 1925-44); XXI- (Munich, 1949-).
GOTR	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i> (Brookline, Mass., 1954-).
GR	Grumel, V., <i>Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1v).
HJ	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i> (Görres-Gesellschaft) (Munich, 1880-).
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1908-).
HVJS	<i>Historische Vierteljahrsschrift</i> (continuation of <i>Deutsche Zeitschrift f. Geschichtswissenschaft</i> [DZG]) (Leipzig, 1898-).
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i> (von Sybel) (Munich and Berlin, 1859-).
IRAIK	<i>Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole</i> [<i>Transactions of the Russian Archaeological Institute at Constantinople</i>] (Odessa, 1896-).
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> (Paris, 1822-).
Jaffé	Jaffé, P., <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> (see Gen. Bibl. 1v).
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> (London, 1950-).
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> (London, 1880-).

<i>JOBG</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i> (Vienna, 1951-).
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain</i> (London, 1833-).
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> (London, 1911-).
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> (London, 1900-).
<i>KAW</i>	(Kaiserliche) <i>Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Vienna).
<i>LTK</i>	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> (see Gen. Bibl. I).
<i>MA</i>	<i>Le moyen âge</i> (Paris, 1888-).
<i>Mansi</i>	Mansi, J. D., <i>Sacrorum conciliorum collectio</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>MEC</i>	<i>Mémoires et documents publ. par l'Ecole des Chartes</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>Med. Hum.</i>	<i>Medievalia et Humanistica</i> (Boulder: Colorado, 1943-).
<i>Med. Stud.</i>	<i>Medieval Studies</i> (Pontifical Academy of Toronto) (Toronto, 1939-).
<i>Mém. Acad. IP.</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St Pétersbourg.</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>MGT</i>	<i>Magyar-Görög Tamulmányok, Οὔγγροελληνικαὶ Μελέται</i> (Budapest, 1945-).
<i>MHP</i>	<i>Monumenta historiae patriae</i> (Turin) (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>MHSM</i>	<i>Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>MIOG</i>	<i>Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i> (Innsbruck, 1880-).
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<i>MM</i>	F. Miklosich and J. Müller, <i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>MPG</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Ser. graeco-latina</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>MPL</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Ser. latina</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>NE</i>	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων (Athens, 1904-27).
<i>Neu. Arch.</i>	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i> (Hanover and Leipzig, 1876-).
<i>NRDF</i>	<i>Nouvelle revue historique du droit français</i> (Paris, 1921-).
<i>OC</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i> (Leipzig, 1901-).
<i>OCA</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> (Rome, 1923-).
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> (Rome, 1935-).
<i>ÖstCh</i>	<i>Östliches Christentum</i> (Munich, 1923-).
<i>Pauly-Wissowa</i>	Pauly, A., Wissowa, G. and Kroll, W., <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft</i> (see Gen. Bibl. I).
<i>PAW</i>	<i>Königliche preussische Akademie d. Wissenschaften</i> (Berlin).
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> (Paris, 1907-).
<i>PR</i>	Potthast, A., <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
<i>QFIA</i>	<i>Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Biblio-</i>

	<i>theken</i> (Rome, 1897-).
RA	<i>Revue archéologique</i> (Paris, 1844-).
RAAD	<i>Revue de l'Académie arabe</i> (de Damas) (Damascus, 1921-).
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (see Gen. Bibl. i).
RBén	<i>Revue bénédictine</i> (Maredsous, 1890-).
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i> (Bucharest and Paris, 1946-).
Rec. hist. cr.	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> (Paris, 1888-).
RH	<i>Revue historique</i> (Paris, 1876-).
RIIC	<i>Revue d'histoire comparée</i> (Budapest, Paris, 1943-8).
RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i> (Louvain, 1900-).
RHSE	<i>Revue historique du sud-est européen</i> (Bucharest, 1924-).
RISS	See Muratori in Gen. Bibl. iv.
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i> (Paris, 1836-).
ROC	<i>Revue de l'orient chrétien</i> (Paris, 1896-).
ROL	<i>Revue de l'orient latin</i> (Paris, 1893-).
RP	Rhalles, G. A. and Potles, M., <i>Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
RQCA	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte</i> (Rome, 1887-).
RQH	<i>Revue des questions historiques</i> (Paris, 1866-).
RSI	<i>Rivista storica italiana</i> (Turin, 1884-).
SBAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (formerly <i>Königlichen Akad. der Wiss.</i>) (Munich, 1860-70). Separate <i>Phil.-Hist. Klasse</i> (Munich, 1871-).
SBN	<i>Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i> (Rome, 1924-).
SEER	<i>Slavonic and East European Review</i> (London, 1922-).
Sem. Kond.	<i>Seminarium Kondakovianum</i> (Prague, i-ix, 1929-35). Continued as <i>Annales de l'Institut Kondakov</i> (Belgrade, 1936-40).
SGUS	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum</i> (see <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> in Gen. Bibl. iv).
SHF	<i>Société de l'Histoire de France</i> (Publications. Paris, 1833-).
SKAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosoph.-hist. Classe</i> (Vienna, 1848-).
SP	<i>Speculum</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1925-).
SPAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen</i> [after 1944 called <i>deutschen</i>] <i>Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Berlin, 1896-).
SRH	<i>Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum</i> (see Gen. Bibl. iv).
Trad.	<i>Traditio</i> (New York, 1943-).
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> (London, 1869-).
VV	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i> (Βυζαντινὰ Χρονικά), old series i-xxv (St Petersburg, 1894-1928); new series i (xxvi)- (Leningrad, 1947-).
WMBH	<i>Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina</i> (Vienna, 1893-1912).
ZGF	<i>Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst</i> (Düsseldorf, 1888-1921).

ZCK	<i>Zeitschrift zur christliche Kunst</i> (Dusseldorf, 1888–1921).
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig, 1846–).
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> (Stuttgart, 1876–).
ZKT	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i> (Innsbruck, 1877–).
ZMNP	<i>Žurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvěšćenija</i> [<i>Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction</i>] (St Petersburg, 1834–).
ZR	<i>Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte</i> (Weimar, 1861–78) (continued as ZSR, below).
ZSR	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtswissenschaft</i> (Weimar, 1880–).
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> (Jena, etc., Frankfurt-am-Main, 1858–1914).

Abh.	Abhandlungen.	n.d.	no date.
antiq.	antiquarian, antiquaire.	n.s.	new series.
app.	appendix.	publ.	published, publié.
coll.	collection.	R. }	reale.
diss.	dissertation.	r. }	
Ge., Gé.	Georgia, Géorgie.	roy.	royal, royale.
hist.	history, historical, historique, historisch.	ser.	series.
Jahrb.	Jahrbuch.	soc.	society, société, società.
k.	kaiserlich, königlich.	subs.	subsidia.
mem.	memoir.	suppl.	supplement.
mém.	mémoire.	TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen.</i>
		Viert.	Vierteljahrsschrift.

Armenia and Georgia

by Cyril Toumanoff

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[Frequently Used Abbreviations](#)

[page 983]

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Armenia and Georgia

by Cyril Toumanoff

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III. Literary Sources

C. Sources in Languages Other than Armenian and Georgian

[Frequently Used Abbreviations](#)

[page 995]

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[996]

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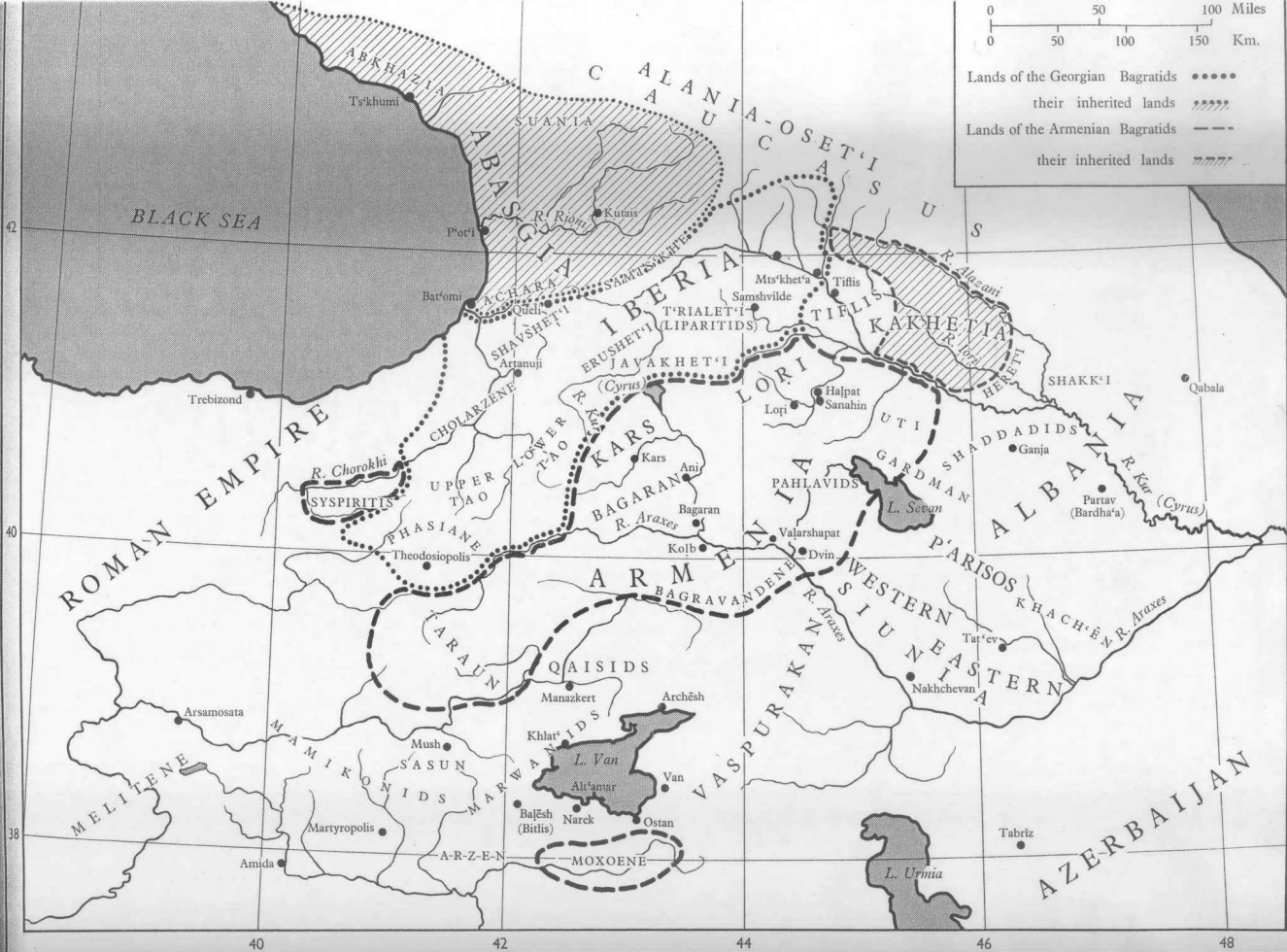
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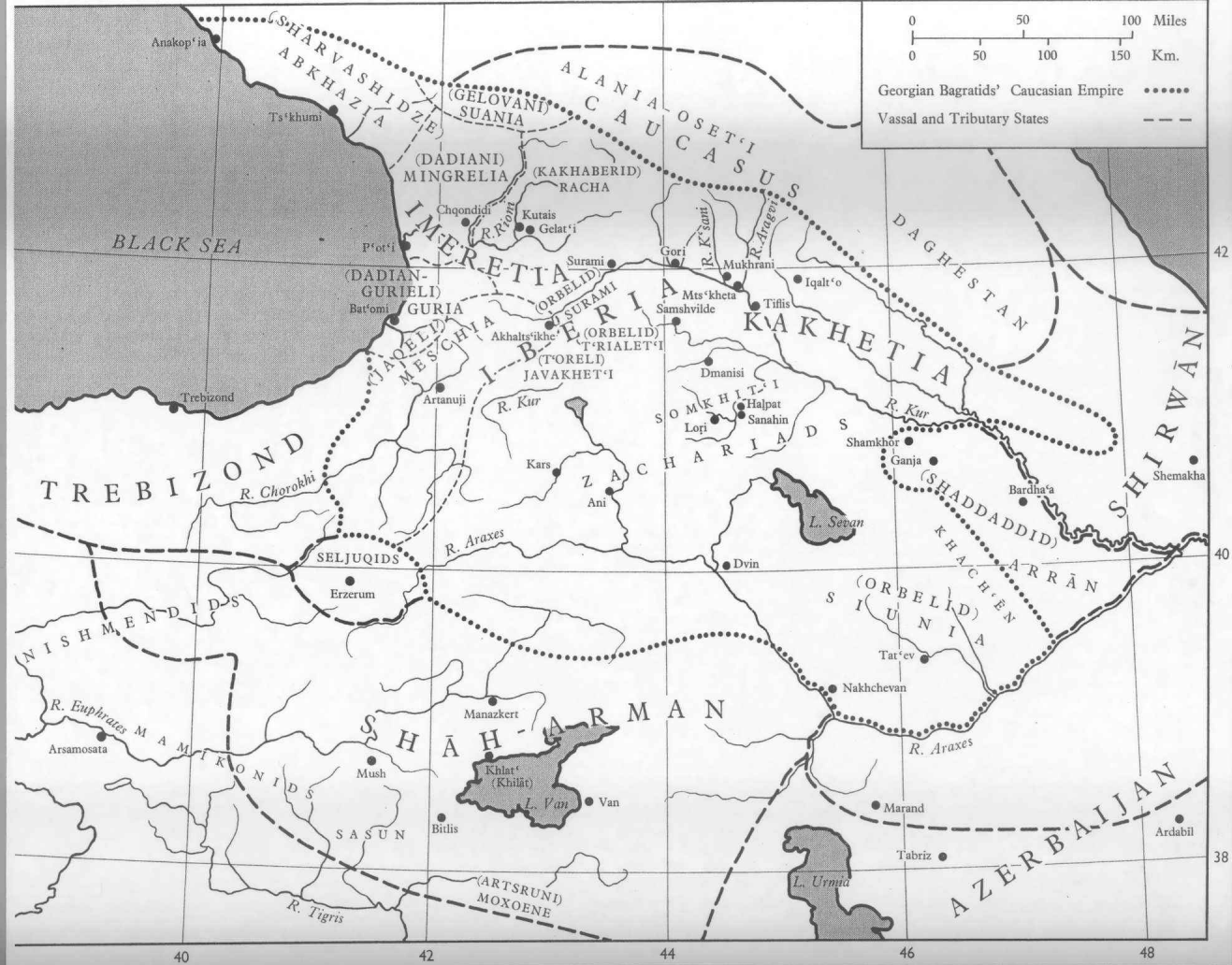
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Rulers of Armenia (to 1375)

Ervandian or Orontid Dynasty in Armenia

ERVAND (ORONTES) I, c. 401-c. 344 B.C.

ERVAND (ORONTES) II, c. 344-331

MITHRANES, 331-before 317

ERVAND (ORONTES) III, before 317-c. 260

SAMUS, c. 260

XERXES, after 228-c. 212

ERVAND (ORONTES) IV, c. 212-c. 200

Artashesian or Artaxiad Dynasty

ARTASHES (ARTAXIAS) I, 188-c. 165?

ARTAWAZD (ARTAVAZD) I

TIGRAN (TIGRANES) I

TIGRAN (TIGRANES) II, 95-55

ARTAWAZD (ARTAVAZD) II, 55-34

ALEXANDER HELIOS. *Not member of dynasty*

ARTASHES II, c. 30-20

TIGRAN (TIGRANES) III, 20-8/6

TIGRAN (TIGRANES) IV, 8-5

ARTAWAZD (ARTAVAZD) III, 5-2

TIGRAN (TIGRANES) IV and ERATO, 2 B.C.-A.D. 1?

ARIOBARZANES, A.D. 2-4. *Not member of dynasty*

ARTAWAZD (ARTAVAZD) IV, 4-6

TIGRAN (TIGRANES) V and ERATO, c. 6-14

Arsacids in Armenia

VONONES, 12-c.15

ORODES, c.15-c.18

ZENO/ARTASHES OF PONTUS, c.18-34. *Not member of dynasty*

ARSHAK I, 34-c.35

MITHRIDATES OF IBERIA, c.35-37, 42-51. *Not member of dynasty*

RHADAMISTES OF IBERIA, 51-54? *Not member of dynasty*

TRDAT (TIRIDATES) I, 53-c.60

TIGRAN (TIGRANES) VI, c.60-c.61/62. *Not member of dynasty*

TRDAT (TIRIDATES) I, c.62/66-c.75

SANATRUK, 75-110?

AXIDARES, 110-113?

PARTHAMASIRIS, 113-115?

VAGHARSH (VOLOGASES) I, 117-138/140

AURELIUS PACORUS, 161-163?

SOHAEMUS, 164-185, with interruptions. *Not member of dynasty*

VAGHARSH (VOLOGASES) II, c.180-191

XOSROV I, c.191-216/217?

TRDAT (TIRIDATES) II, c.216/217-252

HORMIZD-ARDASHIR, Sasanian, 252-c.272. *Not member of dynasty*

NARSEH, Sasanian, c.273-293. *Not member of dynasty*

XOSROV II, 279/280-287

TRDAT (TIRIDATES) III, 287-298

TRDAT (TIRIDATES) IV, the Great, 298/99-c.330

XOSROV III Kotak, c.330-338

TIRAN, c.338/39-350

ARSHAK II, 350-c.364/367

PAP, 367-c.374

VARAZDAT, 374-378

ARSHAK III AND VAGHARSHAK, Pap's sons. c.378-c.389

XOSROV IV, in Eastern Armenia. 384-389

VRAMSHAPUH, replacing brother XOSROV IV, 389/401-417

XOSROV IV, 417-418

SHAPUH, Sasanian. Son of shah Yazdgird I, 418-422. *Not member of dynasty*

ARTASHES/ARDASHIR, SON OF VRAMSHAPUH, 422-428

Marzpan

VASAK I OF SIWNIK' c. 442-451

[SAHAK II BAGRATUNI, INSURGENT MARZPAN] 482-483

VAHAN MAMIKONEAN, AUTONOMOUS MARZPAN 485-505/510

VARD MAMIKONEAN, AUTONOMOUS MARZPAN 505/10-509/514

MZHEZH (MEZEZIUS) I GNUNI 518-548

PHILIP SIWNI 574-576

MUSHEGH II MAMIKONEAN 591 ?

VARAZ-TIROTS' II BAGRATUNI 628 - AFTER 631

Presiding Princes of Armenia

MZHEZH (MEZEZIUS) II GNUNI, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE IMPERIAL TROOPS, 628-635

DAVID SAHARHUNI, CUROPALATE 635-638

THEODORE RHSHTUNI, HIGH CONSTABLE AND PATRICIAN, 638-c.645

VARAZ-TIROTS' II BAGRATUNI, CUROPALATE, 645

THEODORE RHSHTUNI, HIGH CONSTABLE

for the Emperor, 645-653

for the Caliph, 653/4-655

MUSHEGH II MAMIKONEAN, MASTER OF THE HORSE *for the Emperor*. Passes to the Caliph, 654

HAMAZASP II MAMIKONEAN,

for the Caliph, 655-657

CUROPALATE *for the Emperor, 657-658*

GREGORY I MAMIKONEAN, *for the Caliph, 662-684/85*

ASHOT II BAGRATUNI, *for the Caliph, 686-689/90*

NERSEH KAMSARAKAN, CUROPALATE *for the Emperor, 689/90-691*

SMBAT VI BAGRATUNI, PATRICIAN *for the Emperor, 691-697*

for the Caliph, 697-700

CUROPALATE *for the Emperor, 700-711*

ASHOT III BAGRATUNI, *for the Caliph, 732-748*

GREGORY II MAMIKONEAN, *for the Caliph*, 748-750

[MUSHEGH MAMIKONEAN, HEAD OF THE INSURGENT PRINCES] c.750

SAHAK VII BAGRATUNI
HIGH CONSTABLE *for the Caliph*, 755-761

SMBAT VII BAGRATUNI
HIGH CONSTABLE *for the Caliph*, 761-772

TACHAT ANDZEWATS'I, *for the Caliph*, 780-782/785

ASHOT IV BAGRATUNI, *for the Caliph*, 806-826

SMBAT VIII BAGRATUNI
HIGH CONSTABLE *for the Caliph*, 826-855

BAGARAT II BAGRATUNI OF TARON, PRINCE OF PRINCES, *for the Caliph*, 830-852

ASHOT V BAGRATUNI
HIGH CONSTABLE, 856
PRINCE OF PRINCES *for the Caliph*, 862-885

ASHOT I BAGRATUNI OF TARON
CUROPALATE *for the Emperor*, 877-878

Kings of Armenia

(BAGRATID DYNASTY)

ASHOT I (V) the Great, 885-890

SMBAT I (IX) the Martyr (*son*), 890-914

ASHOT II (VI) the Iron (*son*), King of Kings, 914-928

ABAS I (*brother*), 928-952

ASHOT III (VII) the Merciful (*son*), 952-977

SMBAT II (X) the Conqueror (*son*), 977-989

GAGIK I (*brother*), 989-1020

HOVHANNES [JOHN]-SMBAT III (XI) (*son*), 1020-1040

ASHOT IV (VIII) the Valiant (*brother*), 1021-1039

GAGIK II (*son*), 1042-1045
[cedes Armenia to the Empire], dies c. 1079

Kings of Kars

(BAGRATID DYNASTY)

MUSHEGH (*son of ABAS I of Armenia*), 962-984

ABAS I (*son*), 984-1029

GAGIK-ABAS II (*son*), 1029-1064, d. 1080
[cedes Kars to the Empire]

Kings of Lorhi and Aghbania

(*BAGRATID DYNASTY*)

GURGEN I (*son*) of Ashot III of Armenia), 982-989

DAVID ANHOUGHIN [the Landless] (*son*), 989-1046/48

GURGEN II-Kiwrike (*son*), 1046-1081/89
[Lorhi annexed by the Saljuqs]

Kings of Vaspurakan

(*ARTSRUNID DYNASTY*)

XACH'IK-GAGIK, 908-936/37

DERENIK-ASHOT (*son*), 936/37-953

ABUSAHL-HAMAZASP (*brother*), 953-972

ASHOT-SAHAK (*son*), 972-983

GURGEN-XACH'IK (*brother*), 983-1003

SENEK'ERIM-HOVHANNES [JOHN] (*brother*), 1003-1021, d. 1027
[cedes Vaspurakan to the Empire] (*son*)

Kings of Siwnik'

A. Line of Siwnik'

SMBAT II, 963-c. 998

VASAK VI (*son*), c. 998-1019

SMBAT III (*cousin and nephew*), 1019-?

GREGORY V (*brother*), ?-c. 1091

B. Line of Gardman-Aghbania

HOVHANNES [JOHN]-SENEK'ERIM (*adopted son of Gregory V*), c. 1091-1105

GREGORY VI (*son*), 1105-1166

Kings of Kakhnetia

A.

KWIRIKE III the Great, 1010-1029

B.

BAGRATID DYNASTY

GAGIK of Lorhi (*son of David Anhoghin and nephew of KWIRIKE III*), 1029-1058

AGHSART'AN I (*son*), 1058-1084

KWIRIKE IV (*son*), 1084-1102

AGHSART'AN II (*nephew*), 1102-1105 [Kakhetia annexed by Georgia]

Princes and Kings of Cilician Armenia

A. RUBENID DYNASTY

RUBEN I, 1080-1095

CONSTANTINE I (*son*), 1095-1099

T'OROS (THEODORE) I (*son*), 1100-1129

LEWON (LEO) I (*brother*), 1129-1138, d. 1141

[Cilicia occupied by the Byzantines, 1138-1145]

T'OROS (THEODORE) II (*son*), 1145-1169

RUBEN II (*son*), 1169-1170

MLEH (*uncle*), 1170-1175

RUBEN III (*nephew*), 1175-1186

LEWON (LEO) II (I) the Great (*brother*), 1186-1198/99; King of Armenia, 1198/99-1219

ISABEL (*daughter*), 1219-1222

PHILIP OF ANTIOCH (*consort*), 1222-1225

B. HET'UMID DYNASTY

HET'UM I of Lambron (*second consort of ISABEL*), 1226-1269, d. 1270

LEWON (LEO) III (II) (*son*), 1269-1289

HET'UM II (*son*), 1289-1293, 1294-1296, 1299-1305, d. 1308

T'OROS (THEODORE) III (I) (*brother*), 1293-1294, d. 1299

SMBAT (*brother*), 1296-1298

CONSTANTINE II (I) (*brother*), 1298-1299

LEWON (LEO) IV (III) (*son of T'OROS (THEODORE) III*), 1305-1308

OSHIN (*son of LEO III*), 1308-1320

LEWON (LEO) V (IV) (*son*), 1320-1341

C. LUSIGNAN DYNASTY

GUY I de LUSIGNAN (*cousin of LEO V*), 1342-1344; Regent: John de Lusignan (*brother*), 1342

CONSTANTINE III (II) (*outsider*), 1344-1363

CONSTANTINE IV (III) (*cousin*), 1365-1373

PETER de LUSIGNAN, King of Cyprus, invited, 1368-1369

LEO VI (V) de LUSIGNAN (*GUY'S nephew*), 1373-1375

[Mamluk conquest of Cilician Armenia]

Rulers of Iberia/Georgia (to 1505)

Pharnabazids

PHARNABAZUS (P'ARNAVAZ) I, 299-234 B.C.

SAUROMACES (SAURMAG) I (*son*), 234-159

Nimrodids or Second Pharnabazid Dynasty

MERIBANES (MIRVAN) I
(*son-in-law and adopted son*), 159-109

P'ARNAJOM (*son*), 109-90

Artaxiads

ARTAXIAS (ARSACES/ARSHAK) I, 90-78
(*brother-in-law of P'arnajom*),
(*son-in-law of Meribanes I*),
(*son? of Artavasdes I of Armenia*)

ARTOCES (ARTOG), 78-63
(*son of Artaxias I*)

PHARNABAZUS II (BARTOM), 63-30
(*son of Artoces*)

Nimrodids

MERIBANES (MIRVAN) II, 30-20
son of P'arnajom

ARTAXIAS (ARSACES/ARSHAK) II,
son of Meribanes II,
20 B.C.-A.D. 1

Third Pharnabazid Dynasty

PHARASMANES I (ADERK), 1-58

MITHRIDATES (MIHRDAT) I, 58-106

AMAZASPUS (AMAZASP) I, 106-116
son of Mithridates I

PHARASMANES (P'ARSMAN) II, 116-132
the Good, *son of Amazaspus I*

RADAMISTUS (ADAM), 132-135
(*son of Pharasmanes II*)

PHARASMANES (P'ARSMAN) III, 135-185

AMAZASPUS (AMAZASP) II, 185-189 (*son of Pharasmanes III*)

Arsacids in Iberia

REV I the Just, 189-216
son of king Vologases II (180-191) of Armenia

VACH'E, 216-234
son of Rev I

BACURIUS (BAKUR) I, 234-249, (*son of Vach'e*)

MITHRIDATES (MIHRDAT) II, 249-265

AMAZASPUS (AMAZASP) III, anti-king 260-265

ASPACURES (ASP'AGUR) II, 265-284 (*son of Mithridates II*)

Chosroids

MERIBANES (MIRIAN) III, 284-361, *son of the Great King of Iran*

REV II, co-king 345-361, *son of Meribanes III*

SAUROMACES II, 361-363, diarch 370-378

ASPACURES II (VARAZ-BAKUR I), 363-365, *son of Meribanes III*

MITHRIDATES (MIHRDAT) III, 365-380, diarch 370-378, *son of Aspacures II*

ASPACURES III (VARAZ-BAKUR II), 380-394, *son of Mithridates III*

TIRIDATES (T'RDAT), 394-406, *son of Rev II*

PHARASMANES (P'ARSMAN) IV, 406-409, *son of Aspacures III*

MITHRIDATES (MIHRDAT) IV, 409-411, *son of Aspacures III*

ARCH'IL, 411-435, *son of Mithridates IV*

MITHRIDATES (MIHRDAT) V, 435-447, *son of Arch'il*

VAKHTANG I GORGASAL (GURGENES), 447-522, *son of Mithridates V*

DACH'I, 522-534, *son of Vakhtang I*

BACURIUS (BAKUR) II, 534-547, *son of Dach'i*

PHARASMANES (P'ARSMAN) V, 547-561, *son of Bacurius II*

PHARASMANES (P'ARSMAN) VI, 561-? *brother's son of Pharasmanes V*

BACURIUS (BAKUR) III ?-580, *son of Pharasmanes VI*

Presiding Princes of Iberia

GUARAM I the Guaramid, CUROPALATE, 588-c. 590
for the Emperor

STEPHEN I the Guaramid
passes to the Great King, c. 590-627

ADARNASE I the Chosroid, PATRICIAN
for the Emperor, 627-637/42

STEPHEN II the Chosroid, PATRICIAN
for the Emperor, 637/42-645
for the Caliph, 645-c. 650?

ADARNASE II the Chosroid
for the Caliph, c. 650?
PATRICIAN, *for the Emperor, c. 662-684/5*

GUARAM II the Guaramid
for the Caliph, 684/5-689
CUROPALATE, *for the Emperor, 689-before 693*

GUARAM III the Guaramid
CUROPALATE *for the Emperor, before 693*
for the Caliph, 693-c. 748

ADARNASE III Nersiani, CUROPALATE
for the Emperor, c. 748-760

NERSE Nersiani
for the Emperor, c. 760-772
for the Caliph, 775-779/80

STEPHEN III the Guaramid
for the Caliph, 779/780-786

ASHOT I Bagrationi (Bagratuni) CUROPALATE
for the Emperor and the Caliph, 813-830

BAGRAT I Bagrationi, CUROPALATE
for the Emperor and the Caliph, 842/3-876

DAVID I Bagrationi, CUROPALATE
for the Emperor and the Caliph, 876-881

GURGEN I Bagrationi, CUROPALATE
for the Emperor, 881-891

Kings and Curopalates of Iberia

(BAGRATID DYNASTY)

ADARNASE IV, KING, 888-923
CUROPALATE, 891-923

[Kings of Abasgia/Abkhazia control Iberia, 912-975]

DAVID II (*son*), titular KING, 923-937

ASHOT II (*brother*)
CUROPALATE, 923-954

SUMBAT I (*brother*)
CUROPALATE, 954-958, and titular KING, 937-958

BAGRAT II the Simple (*son*), titular KING, 958-994

ADARNASE (III) (*son of Bagrat, Sumbat's brother*)
CUROPALATE, 958-961

DAVID II the Great (*son*), CUROPALATE, 990-1000

GURGEN I (*son of Bagrat II*), CO-KING, 975
KING OF KINGS, 994-1008

BAGRAT III (*son*), CUROPALATE, 1000
KING OF KINGS, 1008

Kings of Abasgia/Abkhazia

(ANCH'ABAD DYNASTY)

LEO II, 767/68-811/12

THEODOSIUS II (*son*), 811/12-837/38

DEMETRIUS II (*brother*), 837/38-872/73

GEORGE I AGHTS'EPALI (*brother*), 872/73-878/79

JOHN SHAVLIANI (*outsider*), 878/79-c. 880

ADARNASE SHAVLIANI (*son*), c. 880-887/88

BAGRAT I (*son of Demetrius II*), 887/88-898/99

CONSTANTINE III (*son*), 898/99-916/17

Kings of Georgia (Abasgia/Abkhazia and Iberia)

(BAGRATID DYNASTY)

BAGRAT III, 1008-1014, CUROPALATE, 1000

GEORGE I (*son*), 1014-1027

BAGRAT IV (*son*), 1027-1072

CUROPALATE, 1031-1032

NOBILISSIMUS, c. 1052

SEBASTUS, c. 1060

GEORGE II (*son*), 1072-1089

CUROPALATE, c. 1060

CAESAR, c. 1081

DAVID III (II) the Builder (AGHMASHENEBELI)

(*son*), 1089-1125 *PANHYPERSEBASTUS*

Co-Kings: GEORGE II, 1089-1112; DEMETRIUS (I), 1125

DEMETRIUS I (*son*), 1125-1155, 1155-1156

DAVID IV (III) (*son*), 1155

GEORGE III (*brother*), 1156-1184

Co-ruler: THAMAR, 1179

THAMAR the Great (*daughter*), 1184-1212

Co-Kings: DAVID SOSLAN (*cousin and consort*), c. 1193-1207; GEORGE (IV), 1205

GEORGE IV the Resplendent (*son*), 1212-1223

RUSUDAN (*sister*), 1223-1245

Co-King: DAVID (V), 1234

[Interregnum, 1245-1250]

DAVID V (IV) (*son*), 1250-1258, secedes in Abasgia/Abkhazia, or Imeretia

DAVID VI (V) (*son of George IV*), 1250-1269

[Interregnum, 1269-1273]

DEMETRIUS II the Devoted (*son*), 1273-1289

VAXTANG II of Imeretia (*son of David V*), 1289-1292

Co-King: DAVID (VII), 1291

DAVID VII (VI) (*son of Demetrius II*), 1292-1301

Co-King: George (VI), 1299

VAXTANG III (*brother*), 1301-1307

Co-Kings: DAVID (VII) and GEORGE (VI)

GEORGE V, the Little (*son of David VII*), 1307-1314

Co-Kings: DAVID (VII, d. 1310), and GEORGE (VI), Regent

GEORGE VI the Illustrious (*son of Demetrius II*), 1314-1346 [Imeretia recovered]

DAVID VIII (VII) (*son*), 1346-1360. Co-King BAGRAT (V), c. 1355

BAGRAT V the Great (*son*), 1360-1395. Co-King: GEORGE (VII), 1369 [Imeretia lost]

GEORGE VII (*son*), 1395-1405

CONSTANTINE I (*brother*), 1405-1412. Co-Kings: ALEXANDER (I), BAGRAT, GEORGE (*sons*), c. 1408

ALEXANDER I the Great (*son*), 1412-1442 (d. 1446). Co-Kings: VAXTANG (IV), DEMETRIUS (III), GEORGE (VIII) in Kakhetia, ZAAL (d. c. 1438) (*sons*). [Imeretia recovered]

VAXTANG IV (*son*), 1442-1446. Co-Kings: DEMETRIUS (III) and GEORGE (VIII)

DEMETRIUS III (*brother*), 1446-1453 *de jure*.

GEORGE VIII (*brother*), 1446-1465 *de facto*. Co-King: ALEXANDER (*son*), c. 1460 [secedes in Kakhetia as GEORGE I, 1466-1476]

BAGRAT VI (*son of George, Alexander I's brother*), 1465-1478. Co-King: CONSTANTINE (II), c. 1465

CONSTANTINE II (*son of Demetrius III*), 1478-1505

Partition of Georgia: ALEXANDER, son of GEORGE VIII, is recognised as King of Kakhetia in 1490 and ALEXANDER, son of Bagrat VI, is recognised as King of Imeretia in 1491.
